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ART. I.—UNPUBLISHED NOTICES OF JAMES SHARP,  
ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

IN the list of Scottish Divines who are the subjects of the charming monographs which compose the third series of the St. Giles Lectures, we notice a very natural, but a very striking, omission. That in a work which is designed to record the virtues and the heroism of the Scottish Church a place should be denied to James Sharp by the side of Knox and Melville, Leighton and Ewing and the Robertsons, cannot astonish us. In each and all of the men whose labours are there gratefully summarised, whether fighter, saint, or statesman, there was indeed some visible ray of the divine. We question whether the apostate Covenanter, the hireling prelate, the false friend, the persecutor who oppressed, and the schemer who planned for none but selfish ends, the baffled and despised dupe of men older in practice, abler in condition, than himself, would, in the extremities of his self-deception, have claimed this as one of his attributes.

But although, in the company of such men, James Sharp was 'God bless us, a thing of naught,' his career was nevertheless one without a due consideration of which the history of the Scottish Church is very incomplete. For, in an especial degree, he represented the effects upon men of base or uncertain tempers of the *Sturm und Drang* period which preceded the Restoration. The tremendous tyranny of the Covenant, its

struggles and its triumphs, its censorship, hard, ignorant, and unflinching as that of the Holy Office itself, its audacious seizure of every department of political and family life, its bigotry ever narrowing as the political storm which called forth its enthusiasm gradually passed away, formed, no doubt, heroes and martyrs. But, inasmuch as it rendered life well nigh intolerable to any who revolted from its despotism, and compelled ambitious and unscrupulous men to practise a feigned subjection for twenty years, it was sure, when opportunity offered, to feel their revenge. Of the desire for that revenge James Sharp was not the spokesman, but the instrument.

Hitherto the investigation into the character of Sharp has been confined to his dealings at the re-establishment of Episcopacy. An able article in No. 92 of the *North British Review*, 1848, states the critical question as to that point thus: 'Did he act a false part throughout, enacting, in the language of Wodrow, "the overthrow of the Church of Scotland with the highfliers in England," while maintaining a friendly correspondence with those who trusted him, and representing himself as active in the pursuance of the objects they had at heart?' The writer of that article had had the opportunity of investigating copies of a number of letters from Sharp to Patrick Drummond, a Presbyterian minister in London, who was in Lauderdale's confidence, which are contained among the Lauderdale papers in the British Museum; and his verdict is as follows:—'He laboured, as it appears to us honestly, for its establishment at the Restoration, so long as there was any hope of its being established. He only abandoned the cause when it was hopeless.' This article, however, bears upon its face such evidence of special pleading,\* and is framed upon so circumscribed an examination

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\* With regard to this article, it is to be observed that the writer had failed to examine letters written at the same period by persons other than Sharp himself, and that he was therefore unable to take account of many things of a most suspicious nature. Moreover, from the fact that he had read only copies, he missed numerous points of importance in the letters themselves; while not only many passages of great weight, but, notably, one whole letter, are passed over in silence, which, if it had been intentional, would have been convenient. But



of the original sources, that even had we no other information to guide us, we should hesitate to accept the verdict without great reserve. Our own opinion, founded upon an independent examination of these letters, as well as of others equally important of the same date, and of after years, is clear. We do not believe that Sharp ever consciously said to himself, 'I will betray this Church;' nor, we think, did he ever say that he would not. He appears, in an age of stern and intolerant conviction, to have been free of a strong and binding preference for any special form of Church government, except so far as it brought himself to the front. He was coldly and consistently selfish. He was a bigot to nothing but his own interests, and these he endeavoured with perfect consistency and zeal, but with poor success, to serve all the days of his life. At the outset he sees that the idea of England accepting the obligations of the Covenant is obsolete and absurd, and he throws it over at once. As time goes on he becomes convinced that the pretensions of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland to interfere *in civilibus*, must be given up; then, that even *in ecclesiasticis* it will with difficulty hold its own; then, as the intentions of the Court become plainer, he finds that he never had, and has not now, any objection to a well-qualified presidency; and so on. He does

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in support of our charge of 'special pleading' we are compelled to observe that an attempt is made to influence the reader's mind by considerations wholly puerile and irrelevant to the discussion. The 'popular Presbyterian view' is contemptuously rejected as 'not correct,'—upon what? Upon historical investigation? No; upon no better evidence than 'a glance at his portrait.' The portrait of Graham of Claverhouse is not, we might point out, that of a man capable of his undoubted acts of cold-blooded cruelty; nor from the face of the first Earl of Shaftesbury could we prophesy the remorseless wickedness with which he hounded on Englishmen maddened with causeless terror to the murder of the Catholics. But we are told, too, that Sharp once in his hot youth boxed the ears of a man who gave him the lie; and the inference is directly drawn that he could not have been a deceitful and treacherous man. When, on one occasion, Pepys saw his wife insulted, he records that he gave the aggressor 'a cuff over the chops.' Surely, then, Pepys was a courageous man. Fortunately, and as if to warn us against such remarkable deductions as that concerning Sharp, Pepys adds, 'and, seeing he did not oppose me, I gave him another.' We may add that Pepys was a self-confessed liar and would-be thief.

not give the direction to the current, nor does he care much how it may turn; but he travels by its side, ready to snatch from it any good fortune it may carry to his hand. At length it is quite clear that Episcopacy is to come in all its simplicity; and his mind is made up at once, that by no honourable act or word of his will he embarrass the enemies of the Kirk, or jeopardise the chances which a complete and timely apostacy may probably secure.

In the pages which follow, however, we are content to take an open verdict, to regard the more serious charge as, for the time being, 'not proven,' and to see what light Sharp's later career will throw back upon his action at this time. This, we feel, will be more useful and more interesting than once more to go over the well-trodden ground, in support of the opinion we have just offered. The prisoner may go free for want of evidence. But, should it appear that in after years his career is one of consistent chicanery, that, to secure the price of his apostacy, he yields alternately to the threats and the cajolery of abler and stronger men, and consents to become the facile instrument of their designs and the object of their unmitigated contempt, it cannot be but that all former suspicions against him will be vastly strengthened. We propose, therefore, in the following paper, to quote as many of the notices which occur regarding Sharp in the private and unpublished correspondence between Lauderdale, Bellenden, Rothes, Moray, Tweeddale, and others, as our space will allow, preserving only the merest thread of historical sequence. Our object, for the present, is simply to show how Sharp behaved under varying circumstances, and what was thought of him by some of the men with whom he had to do.

We will quote but one incident to show the thoroughness with which he entered upon his new career. On December 13, 1660,\* he vehemently asserted that he was 'a Scotsman, a presbyter,' that 'whatever lot I may meet with, I scorn to prostitute my conscience and honesty to base unbecoming allurements;' and to the end of April, 1661,

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\* Add. MSS., 23, 114, f. 94, British Museum.

he held the same language. On the forenoon of April 20, 1662,\* he preached his first sermon, since his consecration, at St. Andrews, 'and a velvet cushion on the pulpit before him, his text 1, Cor. 2. 2. "For I am determined to know nothing amonge you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."' This is noticeable as the only instance that we know of where Sharp shows any sense of humour. We are not surprised to hear that the sermon of the sometime minister of Craill 'did not run much on the words, but on a discourse of vindicating himselfe, and of pressing episcopacie and the utilitie of it, shewing, since it was wanting, ther hath beine nothing bot trowbels and disturbancies both in Church and State.'

The first notice of Sharp that occurs in the Lauderdale papers, subsequent to his appointment to the Primacy, is on September 6, 1662.† The Billeting plot, the clumsy and futile method by which Middleton, the High Commissioner (who did not suspect Sharp's intimate connection with Lauderdale), hoped to oust the latter from his post of vantage as Secretary, was at its crisis. All Middleton's friends were expected to write on their billets the names of twelve persons of Lauderdale's party, previously decided upon, whom they wished to be incapacitated from public office. Sharp, of course, trimmed. 'Sheldon (Sharp's pseudonym) and some others,'‡ writes William Sharp, the archbishop's brother, and Lauderdale's private agent, 'gave in blank billets; he doubts not of Mr. Reid's (Lauderdale) favour in construeing aright his not wreatig. He has difficultie enough to fend off at present.' Four days later he was one of the scrutineers deputed by the Commissioner to open the bag into which the billets were cast. The others, as was presumably the case with Sharp, were devoted adherents of Middleton, and all were sworn to secrecy. Nevertheless, on that day William Sharp was able to tell Lauderdale the names of the persons who were 'excepted,' with the exact figures. How had he learned these details? Did James Sharp betray his trust? It is more than probable, and yet this too is 'not proven.' It is

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\* Lamont's Diary.

† Add. MSS. 23, 117, f. 79.

‡ 23, 117, f. 80. 'Sheldon' was the pseudonym for Sharp.

true that in this same letter there is absolute proof that the Archbishop knew what his brother was writing, and that he was sending Lauderdale all the information he could collect. And it is also true that four years afterwards Dumfries openly charged him with the betrayal.\* William Sharp's phrase, however, that he 'came by it strangelie,' seems unlike this; and it must be admitted that Bellenden, who hated him immensely, reminds Lauderdale, in the letter which mentions Dumfries' charge, that that charge is untrue. It is, of course, quite possible that Sharp sent the information without Bellenden's knowledge.

To keep the thread of the narrative fairly continuous during the next two years, which as regards Sharp are but sparsely illustrated in the Lauderdale MSS., we have to borrow from what Burnet asserts as coming under his own personal knowledge. Sharp, it appears, went up to London to explain the Billetting affair in *Middleton's interest*.† Finding Lauderdale, however, very strong, he at once changed sides. He had, it appears, written to the King in Middleton's favour, but, when challenged with this by Lauderdale, he denied it flatly until Lauderdale produced the letter. In the early summer of 1663, Lauderdale, now master of the situation, went to Scotland to unravel the Billetting plot, and to complete his triumph over Middleton's faction. From the silence respecting Sharp in the remarkable correspondence which passed between the Secretary and his Deputy, the celebrated Sir Robert Moray,‡ we gather that he was on his good behaviour. All we know is that in the National Synod Act, the first great step in the intended subjection of the Church to the King, he appears to have readily co-operated. In the spring of 1664, however, he was again in London, busy with fresh projects to strengthen Episcopacy, 'without which it is impossible

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\* 23, 125, f. 147.

† 23, 118, f. 9. His brother cannot ascertain the truth; but says that he has been told by Bellenden that this is the case.

‡ For a selection from this correspondence see Vol. I. of the Lauderdale MSS., Camden Society.

to keep the King's authority with these people.' He returned to Edinburgh in April, having secured the grant of a new Church Commission, which gave free scope to his grudge against the Remonstrators, and which Lauderdale had thought best not to oppose. And his restless *amour propre* was gratified by being allowed (as in former days had been customary), to take precedence of the Chancellor at the Council. On the 21st\* he reports to Lauderdale how he has harassed the ministers who were with his old friend, James Wood, when he signed the death-bed confession in favour of Presbyterianism, which had caused so much alarm and anger to the Prelates; how he has cited some ministers, and fined others, as well as 'some people in the West for withdrawing from the churches.' He urges the thorough prosecution of the arbitrary and cruel powers of the Commission, and complains bitterly of the slackness of his fellow Commissioners. The complaint is repeated several times in the letters from the two Archbishops to Sheldon, in whose support they chiefly relied.† It was intended to pave the way for a more serious attack upon Glencairn, who, as Chancellor, stood in the way of the wished-for 'thorough' policy.

Glencairn, however, died on May 30th. In a moment the Churchmen were up and doing. On June 19th, Alexander Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, wrote to Sheldon,‡ urging him to do all he could to secure a favourable appointment, and mentioning that Sharp himself had previously abstained from writing because 'he wishes to avoid suspicion of being a suitor for the Chancellor's place.' The fact that there is a letter of *the same date* from Sharp himself,§ dealing with the subject in a way that could not be misunderstood, is a curious illustration of his inveterate want of sincerity; and, in view of what he had said to his colleague, we are not surprised to find him requesting Sheldon to keep the fact of his writing absolutely private.

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\* 23, 122, f. 16.

† Sheldon MSS., Bodleian Library.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

He was not the man to let anything which promised well for his schemes rest for want of importunity. He determined to press the matter in person, and, in spite of a letter from Sheldon in the beginning of August, written, says Burnet, by the direction of the King himself to stop his journey,\* he came up to Court, and while holding to Charles the language of sincere abnegation, urged his own claims vehemently upon the Archbishop. Rothes, too, the High Commissioner, who had fallen for a while under the ascendancy of Sharp's 'working head,' and who on Feb. 8, 1665, 'pretended great readiness to do what we (the Archbishops) advised him,'† eagerly backed his suit. On July 1, 1665, he wrote to Lauderdale,‡ 'I positively assert nothing could so much establish and secure the peace and quiet of the Church as if the King would be pleased to pitch on my Lord St. Andrews for the discharge of that employment.' On July 19th he is again instant.§ 'I am from my heart sorry that the business in which I humbly conceive there is so much advantage to the peace and tranquility of this poor country should stick.' The contest, as we learn from a letter of Alexander Burnet of Sept. 4th, was between Sheldon, Rothes, and the Scotch Archbishops, who were for curing disaffection by severity alone, on the one side, and Lauderdale, Moray, and their correspondents in Scotland, Argyll, Tweeddale, and Kincardine, to whom conciliation appeared the fittest means of quieting the exasperated people. On the same day as that on which he had Rothes' last urgent letter, Lauderdale received the first of a series of vehement denunciations of Sharp from Bellenden, of the cause of whose intense hatred of the Archbishop we are ignorant. The first overt signs of the Primate's attempted revolt from Lauderdale are found in what Bellenden relates on July 19,|| of his conduct

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\* Sheldon MSS.

† Ibid.

‡ Add. MSS., 23, 123, f. 100. We have anglicized Rothes spelling, which is truly marvellous.

§ 22, 123, f. 133.

|| 23, 123, f. 130.



on the question whether Supply should be raised by taxation, as Lauderdale wished, a plan by which the Church would have to bear a large share of the burden, or by cess. 'My Lord Primate,' says Bellenden, 'being for the way of cess, hath joined with the West country lords and others there, and at the present Dumfries and he are seriously consulting about it. It is generally believed here that the good old way of taxation was proposed by yourself, and upon that account will be vigorously opposed, that a slur may be put upon you.' It must be remembered that Dumfries had been a prominent enemy of Lauderdale at the time of the Billetting. He was now high in favour with both Sharp and Burnet. On Oct. 24th Bellenden's hatred breaks out in well nigh inarticulate French\*—

'Mais, pour l'archevev, cet un person que je ne sorrois comprendre. Dieu nous guard de son esprit malign ; c'il arrive james d'ete noster guard du soe (garde du sceau) je crein que son avancement cosira de grand disorder ici. De gras soulagé moi de cet apprehension car cela me don trop souvent de palpitation de cœur.'

It did not yet suit Lauderdale's object to assert himself violently and to declare open war upon Sharp; but hostilities had nevertheless begun, and the Secretary's adherents lost no opportunity of harassing the common enemy. Sharp's attempts by all means to weaken the reputation of the Lauderdale faction often laid him open to a counter attack. The following letter, dated Nov. 6, from Kincardine,† a man of the highest probity and ability, speaks for itself, as to Sharp's methods, as does the latter's answer (the shortest letter that, so far as we know, he ever wrote), to his evasiveness. We have not thought it necessary to give Kincardine's complete and contemptuous reply,‡ which ended the 'commerce' between him and 'that notable person,' as Moray calls him.

'The great respect I beare your high function hath made me hitherto forbear showing yow the just resentments I might have had of the injuries you have been doing me long ere I was suspecting it of your hand ; but

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\* 23, 123, f. 212.

† 23, 123, f. 220. The italics are in all cases our own. ‡ 23, 123, f. 233.



now that they are come to that height as to endeavour the giving his Ma<sup>tie</sup> bad impressions of me I thinke I may be allowed to breake silence. For, since the main designe of my lyfe has been to serve his Ma<sup>tie</sup> with zeal and faithfulness, his displeasur wold be to me of all things in the world the most insupportable; and now being touched in this point I hope I may be pardoned to expostulat with a freedom beyond ordinar. And therefor I must tell your Grace that of all men I thought I hade least reason to exspeckt that by yow I should be represented to the King as disloyall or wanting that due respect I owe to any thing that is his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasur. Yow haue knowne me of a long tyme & with great familiarity, & yow have knowne me in the worst of tymes how freely I hazarded both sword and gallow & the losse of my fortune for his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and how that throu the goodnes of God to me I continued to the end with the least staine; *when others [e.g., Sharp himself], did take ingadgments to the usurpers, were courting and cajoling Oliver Cromwell, congratulating Richard, owning their authority, and even counseling their friends to commit these villainnies.*

‘And as your Grace has knowne my practice, so I am sure you know my principles lykewise, for I never dissembled them from you. In the point of episcopacy I hope the declarations I have made your Grace of my judgement in it has satisfied yow, since yow have diverse tymes told me they hade, & your Grace may remember that *I made advances & wishes to yow for episcopacie when you wold not allow it.* Your Grace knows lykewise that I have always been a better subject then to be for a jure divino in the particular forms of church government; and therefor, unlesse yow thinke me a foole, why should you judge me averse from any forme his Ma<sup>tie</sup> ordains? especially since I have professed to yow that I thinke a wellordered episcopacy the best of governments, & that I judge my self bound in conscience to defend episcopacie with my lyfe & fortune so long as his Ma<sup>tie</sup> & the laws are for it,\* and if your Grace expect more from any Scottishman I am confident yow take wrong measures.

‘And now, my lord, after all the knowledge your G<sup>r</sup> has hade of me, and after all the proofs I have given of my loyalty and at a tyme when I was expecting your recommendations according to your promise, to accuse me, & that no less then to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, upon so slight an occasione as going to a communion in that which I may call my oune parish, I being almost sole heritor of it and patron of it, and it being nixt to that I live in, where I have hade no occasion to receave these three years, and the communion haveing been according to law, and the minister neither under processe nor sensure, give me leave to say it does ill become the character yow beare, for our Saviour prescribys a fair other methode in case of offences, & I am sure your G<sup>r</sup> knows that if I hade thought any offence wuld have been taken at it I had forborne it.

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\* This admirably expresses the position of the more intelligent nobility with regard to church government.

'I thinke what I have said of my former carrage, when there was no other incouragement to loyalty but that of a good conscience, & many temptations to the contrair, may be a suffitent evidence of my present inclinations, especially haveing then no other motive then the duety of a subject to his King. But haveing since these tymes had opportunities to know his Ma<sup>ties</sup> extraordinary personall worth, & since his Ma<sup>ties</sup> blessed restauration haveing found so many proofs of his goodnes to me upon all occasions that ever I hade to put it to the test I thinke may self now engaged in a personall kyndnes for Charles the Second, as I am bound to him by my duety as my prince. And the Searcher of Hearts knows that I am still ready with the old faithfullnes to serve his Ma<sup>tie</sup> with my life & fortune against all his enemies either domestique or forraine; so that if your Grace give any character of me not according to this I dare say yow know yow'll do me wrong, & the great God judge of it; for it is hard for kings to shunne being abused when those of your station dare attempt it, & it is impossible for any man to justefy himself of a thing he knows not he is accused of.'

Sharp's answer is as follows:—

'I have received your large accusation wreatin in such a strain & passion, that as yow do not desyre an answer, so my present busines will not allow me to give it; and therfor I shall only say this, yow have given under your hand a most unjust and causeles accusation in general of a very high nature and consequence against me who yow know I have not done yow wrong; yow best know upon what design yow have done it, when I shall have notice of the particulars of that heavy charge of a person invested with an office yow pretend to bear respect unto, your Lo/ may expect I will be concerned to vindicat my innocency and the dignity of the place the king & the law hath put me into, from these audacious imputations, which in justice I suppose yow will not refuse to make good, and thereby it will be made appear what cause yow have to fix upon these in my station dareing to attempt the abusing of his sacred Ma<sup>ty</sup>.'

For the events which took place when Rothes and Sharp went up in the end of 1665 to London, and which ended in another complete humiliation for the Archbishop, we must again refer the reader to Burnet. It is noticeable, however, that the breach which shortly took place between the Commissioner and the Primate appears to have arisen from the desire of the latter, which again Lauderdale did not oppose, to apply the money resulting from fines, and intended for the relief of the broken royalist families, to the maintenance of troops, which, raised ostensibly to secure Scotland against attacks by the Dutch, were to be employed, under Dalyell and

Drummond, to crush all resistance to the authority of the Church.

In September, 1666, Bellenden is heard again,\* 'Le Primat est ancor a vostré opposit, car it a tanté de fabriquer un nouvell dessein, de quoi le C. de Tw. vous an dira d'avantage. Dieu nous conserve de la malignité de son esprit, car la seurté du Roy et de ces estats cerront fort en danger sil avait, l'exécution de ces volentes.' He adds that Rothes is now entirely on Lauderdale's side. Rothes next day† tells us what the 'Nouvell dessein' is:—

'To come to the business, there has been very strange ways taken to persuade me of your indifferency towards me, or anything that might concern me . . . . In short, it is proposed to me that I should enter on a strict friendship with the Earl of Middleton; and a number of strange professions there was; but, not to trouble you longer, I said I had done the Earl of Middleton no prejudice, and I had received none from him, and for ought I knew I was in friendship with him, but for those little private ways I understood them not, nor had never practised them, nor never would.'

The person employed to negotiate between Middleton and Rothes, in this perfectly characteristic piece of diplomacy, was Dumfries; and it appears that, when the negotiation failed, as described in the letter just quoted, Sharp, untaught by former failures, denied that he had given Dumfries any commission to act; whereupon:—‡

'Il ariva un recontre antre l'Archivec et lo C. Dumfreesce, fort agreable. L'Archivec proposa de tinnier l'afair secret quoi q'il fut desja publie pas tout la vile. L'autre repondit q'il y avait pu d'apparance le fer, parc que la method observer pour tinnier secret les Billoté, quoi que commiss a pu de persons, fut communiqué, e envoyé a la Cour avant que la lettre du Parliament fut présenté au Roy; ce que pica l'autre si fort que james a este person an ci grand disordre, et il se broulia tant que de long tamps il ne se pouvait remetre, ce que a fait depui rire plusires de bon coure de remarquer sa confusion d'esprit, quoique vons savez fort bien q'il ne fut de tout culpable.'

Petty and underhand dealings, 'little private ways,' leading

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\* 23, 125, f. 84.

† 23, 125, f. 88.

‡ Bellenden to Lauderdale, 23, 125, f. 147.

invariably to exposure and ridicule, such is the story of Sharp's career from day to day.

The struggle for the Chancellorship, however, still went on. Lauderdale was anxious for the appointment of Tweeddale, and Bellenden's letters of Oct. 9, and Nov. 8, 1666,\* press this strongly. Meantime Sharp, by his own later admission to Tweeddale, did his best, by writing to Sheldon,† to frustrate this scheme.

Government by violence and extortion led to its natural result. The Covenanters rose, prematurely, and indeed almost without design. On the 27th of November, 1666, Dalzell caught them at Pentland.‡ Two days after the rout which followed, Bellenden wrote:—§

'Pour l'amour de Dieu livré nous de cet maheureux et mal intentionné person : tache de boneur d'establier nostre estat, ce que vous ne feres james tant ce que le Primat continu de presider au counsel. Pardons moy de vous escrire ci souvent, touchant cet person car vous ne sores estre passe precautionne de lui. L'animosité contre le C. d'Argyl et fort racine dans l'esprit de plusieurs de counsel, mes taches de le metre dans le confians de Roy, car el a de l'esprit, de grand pouvoer, et fort intentionne pour la service de sa Majeste, mes opprime par le grand fourb le Primat.'

And in a second letter written on the same day, he warns Lauderdale to secure the friendship with Rothes, otherwise he fears that his ruin and that of his friends will follow. On December 1, he becomes still more vigorous:—||

'N'esti point d'apparance encor que nous puicions estre livré de celui que a usurpé la direction des affaires publique ; asseurement ce n'est pas l'interet du Roy de le continuer an cet dignité, et je creins fort que sa continuation an cet employ produira moves effet an pu de temps, car l'animosité universel et incroyablement grand contre lui : sulage mon esprit au plus tot par la bon nouvel de cet changement ; car le fardau d'un Prester et trop pissant pour mais eposes.'

How vividly, in this last clause, Bellenden expresses the attitude of all aristocracies in the face of a powerful and censorious Church: how it contains in itself the history of the

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\* 23, 125, ff. 120, 138.

† July 23, 1667.

‡ 23, 125, f. 171.

§ 23, 125, f. 167.

|| 23, 125, f. 175.

struggles which began with the advent of Knox, and lasted throughout a century.

On December 11, Bellenden relates the attempt which Sharp made to encroach upon the rights of the Exchequer, and so to secure the support of the military commanders for the Church : \*

'It is my great misfortune to be distrusted and disesteemed by my Lord Primat . . . . After the defeats of the Rebells, I moved in counsel that their goods and estates might be secured for the King's use ; this I did . . . to prevent any mistake that might occur by proposals from interested persons, to persuade the condescendencie of counsell in favours of such persons as should be nominat. Next night, the counsell sitting, His Grace did propose that Generall Dalyell might secure these goods and estates for the King's use. I told that things of that nature were to be regulat by direction from Exchequer, and that if we should find a necessitie to demand safeguards for the further securing of them, I made no doubt but the Generall would franklie goe along with the good of Her Ma<sup>tie's</sup> interest . . . . Late passages betwixt them being considered, it appeared evidentlie that His Grace resolved to wash the General's mouth with Church holie-water. . . . I am informed from a very sure hand that he hath quyte to Lieutenant-Gen. Drummond his pretension or interest in the abbacie of Inch-chafre. The scope of these designs are soon understood, and sure I am that none of these pedanticall wyles hath gained him the least interest with any of these persons ; *he is too well known here to be trusted.* What esteeme he hath at Court I know not, but does conceive it fit that his Majestie may be tymelie informed how unacceptable a person he will be to fill the rounge of Chancellor, besydes his incapacity for it.'

Bellenden then goes on to describe the Archbishop's carriage at the time of the rebellion, when, it will be remembered, he was, through the absence of Rothes, responsible for the government.

'Le jour que les Rebels ce sont montre proch de cet ville, il estait dans la plu grand confusion du monde, tantot voulant ce retirer ches luy, tantot a Berwick, tantot ce casher dans un coign prive, q'il ne ce pu pa dire la confusion et timidité de son esprit.'

But here we must add the testimony of a more friendly witness :—

'My Lord St. Andrews,' says Alexander Burnet,† 'hath given a very extraordinary prooffe both of his prudence and resolution in managing the

\* 23, 125, f. 201.

† Burnet to Sheldon, 1666, December 8. Sheldon MSS.

affairs of the counsell, as your Gr. would heare from others if they were as forward to represent our good services as they are to discover and rip up our infirmities.'

We are bound to notice, however, that, of these conflicting accounts, Bellenden's is supported by Burnet the historian.

It was in the Convention of the Estates which met on January 8, 1667, that Sharp received his first public and official rebuff. It was pointed out at Court that the Government had been carried on hitherto in accordance with his proposals, and that these proposals had led to intense discontent, culminating in armed rebellion. In the former Convention he had been president; Hamilton was, however, now substituted for him, and he himself was ordered to stay in his diocese. This, the first crack of the whip, brought him to heel at once. Rothes writes as follows to Lauderdale on the day that the Convention met, and his letter throws additional light upon a matter previously mentioned.\*

'The King's choice of Duke Hamilton, president, is as well known through the town as if they had seen it; so when I am asked I put it off with answering the King may name who he shall judge most fit, but it makes such work here as never was, nothing being the common discourse but that, and every person's conjecture upon it. Now I have a great deal to say to you concerning my Lord St. Andrews, for he has been with me, and I, hating to dissemble, told him plainly that I had told the King what he said to me relating to you, and that he proposed it to me as coming from Dumfries, but that my Lord Dumfries had declared to me upon his salvation, that his Grace proposed it to him with all the circumstances of it, so said that certainly it was not fit for me to counsell such a thing from so gracious a master as I have: *he is, in short, strangely cast down, yae, lower than the dust.*'

That he had done what he could to create bad blood between the two is again asserted by Rothes, on January 19th.†

On the 16th, Sharp, completely cowed for the time, tried, through his brother William, to make his peace with Lauderdale.‡

\* Jan. 8, 23, 126, f. 16.

† 23, 126 ff. 51, 52.

‡ 23, 126 ff. 60, 72, 80.



'After speaking freele & at lenth with Sheldon here, I find him under verie great pressur that upon representations which upon the greatest perrill he assuredlie undertakes to make appear to be groundles, he should be under the change of his master's favour & want of yours, and positivlie disavowes any tampering with him or any for him (Middleton) who is father-in-law to him who got the ship with the gold and money (Morton), & were he admitted to demonstrat this, & that no message wes sent or received neither proposition made, if it did not appear how causaleslie in this he hes been injured, of consent he will be content to lye under the loss of what is dearer to him then his life. It is grievous to him that the great man here should say he dare not come to you. *I find all the inclinations I can desyre that you command the terms for what is past & to come, which upon the word of a Bp. he will inviolable keep,* and the litle man's restoration will not be with more constant & true thankfulnes & assured confidence resented. Were he with you he could make it appear that what hes been sayed to you & others wes upon another design then hes been told you, & upon the perrill of all will justifie his innocence as to you. This I hint not from any design he hes of coming to you upon any other accompt then the demonstrating the truth of this & then leaving himself to righteous judgment, which he will not doubt of in the least from you. I cannot in this way mention all the particulars in this, bot am assured that if you heard all, the work for all the future should be easie & firm, & if so you please any hint to me shall be managed as you order.'

The Secretary, however, while apparently returning a favourable answer in general terms, was now strong enough to insist that any reconciliation should be only on the condition that Sharp was willing to make himself generally useful. He had determined to break up entirely the church-military ring, led by Rothes, Hamilton, Dalzell, Drummond, and Alexander Burnet, which had for its object the diminution of his own power, and the excesses of which were responsible for the disorder in the country; to compel Rothes to give up the Commissionership; and to inaugurate a policy of conciliation. In June, 1667, he sent down Robert Moray to prepare the way, and to send him a detailed account of parties and individuals, and of the general state of the country.\* To secure the co-operation of Sharp by threats and cajolery skilfully intermingled, was at once the business and the amusement of Tweeddale and Moray.

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\* For Moray's report see the article "Lauderdale and the Restoration in Scotland," in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1883.



'Much,' writes the former, on June 2nd,\* 'will depend on the Primate when he comes, who still hath the absolute rule of the clergy, being esteemed by them the wiser man. . . . I am told by his greatest confidants that for this 12 months he has complained of the continuance of a commissioner, and that nothing will prevail with him to desire it longer.'

This is confirmed by Moray, on July 1:—

'He acquiesces in the King's pleasure, and is much more disposed to expect good to the Church from sober and virtuous persons. He inveighs against keeping up of forces upon an ecclesiastical account, and thinks Bishops should rather quit their gowns than oblige the King to keep up forces to maintain them. . . . He cries out upon the quartering of localities; and, if it were not for our warres with our neighbours, would be for no force.'

We regard these passages as worthy of quotation, if only to be compared with Sharp's letter to Sheldon in the November preceding :†

'Let me beseech your Grace that his Sacred M<sup>ty</sup> may beleieve that this pernicious party are implacable adversaries to his authority, *and are not to be gained by lenity and forbearance*; if this opportunity be not improven for destroying this interest, there is no quyet nor peace to be expected here. *His Majesty will be abused if the peace of Church or State be served here by any mean but force.*'

Whenever Sharp was obliged to eat dirt, and it was very often, he ate it by handfulls.

On July 6, Tweeddale reports to Lauderdale ‡ that the time has now come when Sharp may be useful, and asks for liberty to deal with him as he sees best. On the 23rd he sends the following amusing account of a perfect debauch of recantation :§

'I was this afternoon with my Lord Pr. and could not give a stop to the current of my own ingenuity till I shew him what you had wrote. After he read it he expressed so great satisfaction therewith, as in speaking his eyes stood a bak watter, and then he repeated all had been said to him of you, and reflected upon all the kindness and faivours he had receaved from you, and that the first time he apprehended you were displeased with him was upon my account for a caus I am sure you never was, nor should you never

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\* 23, 127, f. 82. † Sheldon MSS. ‡ 23, 126, f. 105. § 23, 127, f. 141.

have been displeased, and confessed he had wrote to my Lord of Canterbury to obstruct my advancement to the then vaccant place, . . . . . and that he was persuadid you and your friends would doe mor for the settlement of the Church than thos they had trusted more. He said ther would now be great undertakings to introduce the English liturgy, and perfit an uniformity, that an army might be continued for that end. Saw no need of more troops—nor did he think his order should be kept up by force. He told me a journey was intendid with great confidence to overturn all indeavours of settlement upon old foundations in sober men's hands as he was pleased to call them, but did assure me the clergy, notwithstanding all indeavours to the contrary, were well satisfyed, and did heartily close and acquiesce to what was down and wold firmly so continew.'

Four days later we find Sharp appealing in person to the masterful Secretary.\* He crouches at Lauderdale's feet in gratitude that he has been spared the disgrace of removal from his see, which he understood had been intended, asserting that 'no affliction ever befell me which hath been so grievous as to find I had fallen under your displeasure;' he rejects with loathing 'these imputations of ingratitude and unworthiness, which are odious in one of my station in the Church, and would be more bitter to me than death, did my heart accuse me of those injuries done to your Lo: which have been charged upon me;' he once more denies his 'tampering with Dumfries either as first mover, consenter, or abettor,' adding, 'I think I should not be judged so foolish and unwary as to have entered into a plot with the E. of Dumfries in a matter of that concern, for your Lo<sup>p</sup> knows that his tongue is not at all times and in all cases judged to be slander;' professes that Lauderdale's good opinion and friendship shall be preserved on his part 'with inviolable fidelity and devotion for your service'; and finishes a wordy rigmarole of fawning apology by expressing his belief in Lauderdale's desire to do all in his power for the Church.

Lauderdale evidently, on receipt of the letter, wrote to Moray and Tweeddale for their opinion, and on August 8, Moray sends it thus:—†

'I agree with S. S. [pseudonym for Tweeddale] in desiring you to deal gently with the "Auteur des belles lettres." Certainly you are not to

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\* 23, 127, f. 166.

† 23, 127, f. 187.

learn to know him. You told me formerly you had said upon an occasion *you knew how to make use of a knave as well as another*. And I think since you see his cap stands even enough and that he is otherwise detaché and may certainly be made good use of, it should now be done. Our way with him is frank enough but not intimate, and he cries up sober people ; and he being sufficiently [word illegible] is much more calme and tractable than could well have been expected. To this add that his companion being vehement, and not drawing as hee does, he is the man apt to understand gentle and discreet things. *Therfor I would fain have you to pass over any foolish or false thing was in his letter in* such a way as he may not by your suffering of him suspect our ingenuity when we use him with a fair and civil freedom that looks not back nor quarrells, knowing as he does you and wee are not several things.'

Was ever Archbishop thus written of?

On the following day Tweeddale writes to the same effect, and adds :—\*

'In fyne, I must tell you he has been most useful at this tyme, and without his presence the inferior clergy had flown out to impertinencies ; and though the Archbishop (of Glasgow) be high and seem to crow over him, apprehending himself better stated at Court, yet the other rules the Church absolutely here. . . . Again, I pray you give him no discouragement, and be assured we shall keep to the rules which Mr. R. writes of with him ; but if you keep at [word illegible] all is to no purpose we doe, nor will he think himself secure and safe say what we will.'

Once more Moray writes on this point to Lauderdale :—†

'The short is, I think it not amiss you keep so cold with him that he may not swell again. But it is certainly fit we have a frankness with him that may make him useful as indeed he is. . . . For he is already more for softness and lenity than we, and holds the balance even, else his next neighbour, who is yet more unwise than him, would preponderate.'

Following this advice, Lauderdale, on September 2, wrote a letter which hit the just mean between rebuke and conciliation, and which redoubled Sharp's newborn zeal in his service.‡ So much so, indeed, that he was one day unpleasantly startled by Dalrymple's saluting him with, 'Whensoever the Bishops are stoned, you deserve to be the first.' We quote Lauderdale's reply as an admirable instance of his strong style:§

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\* 23, 127, f. 191. † 23, 127, f. 207. ‡ 23, 128, f. 1. § 23, 128, f. 27.

'May it please your Gr.

'I did receave yo<sup>rs</sup> of the 27th July, and althogh I may truly plead the multitude of publick busines as the reason of my slow answer, yet I must with the old freedome tell your Gr. yo<sup>r</sup> owne letter did in a great measure occasion it, for should I exactly answer it, I behoved to make it appeare that yo<sup>r</sup> jealousies of me were groundles, and that no action of mine gave yow any ground for the expression yow used of me to the King more then once, to myself and to others upon severall occasions. I behoved to have clered that yow could not be ignorant of the termes we parted on, and indeavored to demonstrat, That I was ferre from being the cause of the distance we have been at, But upon second and better thoughts I choose rather to leave that to discowrse, when it pleases God we shall meet, where I hope to cleir myself, if any of that stik with yow, and to come to that which I hope was the intention of y<sup>r</sup> letter, even a good understanding in the future, that bygones may be bygones and faire play in time to come. Yow may indeed be assured (as yow profess yow are) of the sincerity of my professed kindenes and concernment for the Ecclesiastick Government as now settled. I hav noe end but the King's service, his honor and greatnes and the peace of the Church and Kingdome with the maintenance of Episcopall government, and by the Grace of God my actions shall constantly be directed to those ends. In my prosecution of them I expect yo<sup>r</sup> friendship—I expect yo<sup>r</sup> concurrence, and that yow will no more suffer grundles jealousies nor clatters to draw yow off till first yow have freely told me and found I cannot cleir myself, then I am sure we shall continue good friends, and yow shall finde me very constantly,

My Lord,

Yo<sup>r</sup> G<sup>ts</sup> most humble Servant,

LAUDERDALE.'

The following incident contains a typical instance of the constant evasion to which Sharp's new allegiance compelled him to have recourse. On September 23, 1667, Alexander Burnet wrote to Sheldon\* to tell him that at a meeting of the Bishops, which he had after great pressure induced Sharp to summon, he had urged that a letter should be written to Sheldon in the name of all present, expressing in strong terms their sense of the danger to which they were exposed by the conciliation policy of Lauderdale and his friends, and their earnest hope that this policy might be stopped. This, as may well be imagined, did not in the least suit Sharp's present course; and Burnet goes on to say that, to frustrate his

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\* Sheldon MSS.

objects, Sharp moved that a letter should also be written to Lauderdale himself; that it was arranged that Sharp should draft the letter to the Secretary, and that that to Sheldon should be left to him, but that when Sharp told him that he might not use his accustomed freedom, and that what he had said in his former letter had very greatly displeased Lauderdale and his friends, he declined to have anything to do with the matter.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt Burnet's account; he at least never swerves from his high Anglican views. Sharp, however, on November 2, gives another and a very different account. After describing to Sheldon, as if it were the result of his own independent view of affairs, that he is beginning to think that the violence of others in former years has been a mistaken policy, he proceeds to praise the fidelity and loyalty to the Church of Lauderdale and Moray; mentions lightly that at the meeting of the Bishops it was judged fitting to write a letter to Lauderdale expressing this, and only at the very end of the letter, and incidentally as it were, refers to the fact that it had been moved to write also to Sheldon himself, as though *this* had been the second thought; nor does he hint at the causes of that motion. It is unnecessary to say that the Bishops' letter to Lauderdale, since it was drafted by Sharp, is in a similar tone: it says nothing whatever about the alarm which prompted Burnet's motion, and is concerned entirely with the expression of their belief in Lauderdale's virtues, and in his zeal for the welfare of their order. The trick was undoubtedly a clever one, and its smartness was fully appreciated by Robert Moray, who, on the 20th September, writes of it thus:—\* 'Though S. S. and I laughed till we was weary at the letter of the Bishops that was sent you, yet you may pick out of it some passages that may sway you to comply with the advice I give. But in sum you will soon observe, as we have done, what a silly company of people they are, and how useful one of them is in managing the rest.' Tweeddale, too, on the 8th

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\*[23, 128, f. 54,

October,\* advises Lauderdale to let Sharp have a letter of thanks all to himself, for nothing will please him more. On the 9th,† Sharp at council ‘employed one of his handsome discourses upon the King’s constant and high regard to Church matters, and the hearty concurrence of those his M<sup>ty</sup> employes in what conduces to the Church’s good;’ and on October 22, Argyll wrote to Lauderdale,‡ ‘And now, my Lord, *assist him handsomely from under the cloud, that every way he may be more useful. I believe he has gotten the second sight through experience, and not for nought.*’ On November 7, Moray writes again to Lauderdale:—§

‘Let me now tell you that there is one thing to be done to our Primate that would set him up and fix him for ever. . . . The thing I mean is that the King would write two lines to him with his own hand. The subject may be his M<sup>a</sup>s. being well pleased with his deportments on what relates to affairs here, and his going so cheerfully along with his known pleasure, and the persons whom he trusts. *This would raise his heart, which I see is bemisted and lodged in his hose, as thinking himself still under a cloud; and then it would most infallibly rivet him to you.* . . . If the King relish this, I think it will be of great use, and, if it be done, I will let it surprize him.’

On December 10th, while still giving the same advice, since the sending of the letter will ‘render him more useful than any other of his coat hereaway can be,’ Moray declares|| that it is scarcely needed, as he could not possibly be more ‘fixt’ than he is: he had, indeed, already given an earnest of his goodwill, by betraying to Moray all he knew of Rothes’ former conduct and designs.

Argyll, on the 12th, puts it still more strongly:—¶

‘The Bishop of Glasgow parted from this yesterday; he was pleased to give me a visit that morning he parted. I found him full of jealousies and fears, and discontented to that height as made him expresse a willingness to part with his employment. My Lord St. [Andrews] to my apprehension, was never more contented than at present, and, as it seems to me, *Sir Robert*

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\* 23, 128, f. 105.

† 23, 128, f. 113.

‡ Bannatyne Club Papers.

§ 23, 128, f. 167.

|| 23, 128, f. 213.

¶ Argyll to Lauderdale, Bannatyne Club Publications.



*hath taken him down and made him up again, and now he has so fixt his gripe on your Lo/, as that I think it will not easily be got loosed.'*

Charles, at Lauderdale's request, wrote the 'two lines with his own hand,' which Moray had suggested; and Sharp simply grovels in fawning recognition, like a whipped cur to whom some broken victual has been carelessly flung. His letter to Lauderdale, on January 18, 1668,\* deserves almost intire insertion, as it is couched in his finest and most characteristic vein.

'The Earl of Tweeddale having come to town, was pleased that night to give me the honour of a visit, and to present me with two letters from the King, and one from my Lord of Canterbury. After reading of them, I must confesse the intimation given by your Lo/ was made good to the full; my expectations had exceeded all measure, had I not been highly satisfied. I could desire no more for the Church at this tyme, and for myself his Maties hand with the diamond seal was to me as a resurrection from the dead. Where obligations swell so high as to overflow all returns of gratitude, the expression must fall short of the sense: I find, indeed, I have to do with persons of honor and conscience who have said little but done much. I may know now how to make estimates; your Lo/ has not dealt with me by halves; by you I am restored to the good opinion of my most gracious master, which is dearer to me than my life; I believe I am reintegrated to your Lp's favour, the eclipsing of which has been as bitter to me as death: what more can be done to give me a title to call myself to all the world wholly, your Lo/s, so that if there be any reserve, or any corner in my heart which by accidents of tyme can be dispossessed of sincere zeal for your service, I think the railings of 'Naphthali' shall justly fall upon me. . . . I have communicated the King's public letter to 3 Bishops and some ministers here: they think they have cause to bless and pray for the King and for your Lp; and now to be out of fear that in the late transactions I had done dis-service to the Church; God hath tended me in many times since I entered upon this office, but never so as in this, and though I had miscarried, yet such has been your noble care of me, as under the King's hand to send me more than a remission, if my carriage should meet with a public challenge. . . . They, the Bishops, may see that you have shown yourself to be an able statesman and faithful minister to the crown; that you have no less generous ends than dexterous disposing of your actions towards those ends: when the true arts and grounds of government with the felicity of prudent and steady managery meet in the King's chief ministers, no greater encouragement for

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\* 23, 128, f. 273.



Churchmen to pray hopefully. . . . As to what I have heard is ordered to the Lords Commissioners of the Thesaurary in reference to me, I shall not pay my thanks, but say that as to advantage of that nature I intendit to seek nothing in your favour but your favour itself, so, whatever hath of your own accord been done, I owe it to your goodness, and pryde it most because it flows from that spring, and thus conclud with my blessing and prayers for your Lo/, my noble Lady, my Lord Yester, and my Lady with the litle man.'

Within six months of these outpourings, which must have excited Lauderdale's mirth to the full, we find him again in spleen and insubordination. The occasion was Tweeddale's proposal that, in pursuance of the conciliation policy, certain 'outed' ministers, of whom George Hutcheson was the principal, should be permitted by the Privy Council, without reference to the Archbishops, to preach in vacant parishes. Sharp was, as usual, not quite clear as to his course regarding this grave attack upon the authority of the Church. On May 7th we hear from Tweeddale\* that 'the other, that has the oversight of all, is so unfixed, and takes such qualms as nothing can be done by him.' On the 26th again,† he is 'complaining, not helping.' A job, however, was found for him which suited his peculiar genius precisely, and which at once restored him to complacency. Hamilton, who was in cordial alliance with Burnet, and who was perhaps the worst robber of the band, was opposing conciliation, and, in addition to treatment of another kind, Sharp was employed to convert him. The confidence placed in him was fully justified. By June 9th Hamilton was 'better inclined';‡ during the following weeks the improvement steadily continued, and by July 21 he was 'a tame Duke,'§ and in cordial support of the new departure. On the 18th June|| Tweeddale writes—'The Archbishop is highly pleased with gaining my Lord Duke, and with all that is done, that he will deny nothing I desire him. Mr. Douglas was with me 2 hours yesternight, the Archbishop will deny me nothing concerning him, and I am now about getting a blank presentation to a kirk in Fife for him.'

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\* 23, 129, f. 92.

† 23, 129, f. 116.

‡ 23, 129, f. 146.

§ 23, 129, f. 243.

|| 23, 129, 166.

Only a week later, and Sharp was again irritating his masters by his unreliableness. On the 25th of June\* Tweeddale says, 'Mr. Douglas was with me yesternight, and is fairly advanced towards acceptance; but this morning my Lord St. Andrews giving me a visit *is like to flee off and wander in his resolution according to his custom;*' and he adds, on the 30th, 'the plan sticks now at the Archbishop, who begins again to waver. The Provost tells me he will never be at quyet till he see you to put matters right between you face to face, and, by your help, with the king.'

On July 10th the first attempt was made upon Sharp's life; the following short note by Tweeddale is all that we hear of his carriage: 'All imaginable industry is used, and pains taken to discover it; yet the Archbishop whines still, and speaks still of overturning and revolution.'†

Sharp now urged his request to be allowed to go to court to ratify his peace with Lauderdale. Tweeddale writes of the proposed visit as he might of that of a troublesome child; he advises Lauderdale to let Sharp do as he wishes, since the Bishops will take it as a favour to their order, and since he has promised 'to behave extraordinary well.'‡ From a letter of the 30th we find that Lauderdale made no objection, for 'My Lord St. A. is very well pleased that you are content he came;';§ but at the same time Sharp complains that he has received no official call, so that he cannot charge his travelling expenses. 'It is lik,' adds Tweeddale, 'he will be as well natured as you desir, but it wer too soon for me to speek of.' A fortnight later, however, on August 15th, he deems it necessary to add a caution,|| 'Take heed he be not troublesome; for his working head will be finding out devices to screw things up.' And on the 19th, when Tweeddale again¶ sounded him on the 'outed ministers,' Sharp found that he had 'no stomach to their coming in.'

Sharp went to London at the end of the month, and the visit had the hoped for effect; he was carefully handled by

\* 23, 129, f. 182.

† 23, 129, f. 243.

‡ 23, 129, f. 253.

§ 23, 129, f. 260.

|| 23, 129, f. 288.

¶ 23, 129, f. 290.

Lauderdale, and returned in December 'in pretty good humour';\* and with his assistance Tweeddale's proposals for filling the vacant parishes were successfully carried out.

Matters went on in this fashion, Sharp now and again trying to assert his freedom, 'carping at the king's letter,' 'not knowing what he would be at,' 'complaining to everybody in private of dangers and feares,' 'unable to lose his power without much noise and trouble,' and being immediately reduced to subjection by 'nipping answers' from Tweeddale, Kincardine, or Moray. Contempt not only for his political morality, but for his powers, is the prevailing note in their letters at this time.

When Lauderdale, who had now acquired the entire confidence of Charles, and the complete control of Scottish affairs, came down as High Commissioner in 1669, he came with two objects of the first importance. The one was to raise and place at Charles' sole and unfettered disposal an army of 20,000 men, who might be counted upon for any service within his dominions that he chose to demand. The other was to render the subjection of the Church complete and beyond question. By the Act of Supremacy, which accomplished this, it was declared that the Crown was supreme in the external government of the Church; that all things relating to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, were in the decision of the King, acting through the Privy Council, and that his directions had the force of laws. A more drastic measure it would be difficult to imagine. We are not surprised that, when it was first placed before him, Sharp was unable to accept it with complacency, and that he once more broke out into pettish remonstrances. But he was in the toils; and in the presence of the man who, as he was well aware, knew him thoroughly, his cowardice, his vanity, his knavery in all its turns and shallows, and who would not hesitate for a moment to crush him, if it were to his purpose to do so, he speedily assumed the part which was more familiar to him than that of honest resistance. The man who wrote the letters of 1660 and 1661 to Drummond; who became the henchman at once of Archbishop Sheldon and of

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\* 23, 131, f. 26.

Lauderdale; who harried the Covenanters among the moss-hags and on the hill sides, and drove them ruthlessly to slavery or to death, and who afterwards made himself the chief agent in inducing his brethren to accept the policy of conciliation, was scarcely the man to champion the cause of Church supremacy against a King possessed of the powers of an almost oriental despotism and served by well nigh irresponsible ministers. The letter to Moray\* which Lauderdale wrote on November 2, 1669, is so brilliant a description of this affair, and of Sharp's part in it, that we cannot close this paper better than by inserting it in full.

Halyrudehous, 2 Nov. 1669.

'Receave heir inclosed the act for the King's supremacie wch yow are humbly to present to his Maj<sup>tie</sup> with this account of the framing and passing it unanimously in the articles. It hath been on the anvill by a privat club ever since the expres was dispatcht. On Sunday was sinnet I met privatly with the honest club who drew it, and at starts as we could it was lickt till Thursday last. Then in the articles I made a very generall proposition in order to it, and named a comitte to prepare it. They were the Archb<sup>p</sup>, the Bp<sup>s</sup> of Orkney and Dumblane, the D. of Hamilton, the Earles of Tweeddale and Kincardin, the Register, the Advocat, Lee, and the Provost of Ed<sup>b</sup>. On Fryday the act of militia past in Parl<sup>t</sup>. That afternoone the committee met. They revised all the former acts, and talked loosely on the matter, but appointed the Register and Advocat to draw the act: which was made ready, and presented to the Comittee yesterday, but it was shewen before unto the Archb<sup>p</sup>, who as soone as he saw it, and that by it the clogs laid upon the king in the act of restitution were knockt off with ane absolute power in the King to order persons and meetings and matters as should please his Maj<sup>tie</sup>, he took the alarum wondrous haisty and said wilde things to E. of Tweeddale, that all King Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> ten yeers worke was now to be done in 3 dayes, that 4 lines in this act were more comprehensive then a hundred and odd sheets of H. 8. The E. Tweeddale answered him calmly that the narrative of their act was as full, and that we had all sworne the oath of supremacie, and could not scruple to enact it more cleirly, but all could not quiet him. He wild came to me. By good luck I was at the Th<sup>er</sup> till noone. Then he came to me, but I wold not spoyle his stomack to his dinner. Immediately after dinner we had a sound bout, and I dealt freely with him. I knew well his objections, thogh he wold not speake them out. At last he did desire that I wold give him the act to advise with his brethren, w<sup>ch</sup> I consented to, provyding

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\* 23, 132, f. 141, 142.

it might be first tabled at the committee. Now yow must know he had been so towzled by the Duke, the E. Tweeddal and Kincardine, and the Advocat upon the debate of the materials of the act at the committee that he had no great feast (?) to buckell any more; onely he made a speech and desired to consider on it that afternoone wch was granted him, so the committee adjorned, and he spent the afternoone with his brethren. In the evening he came to me and after he had receaved ane answer to all his objections, He told me his brethren were so satisfyed with what I had said from the throne in his Maj<sup>ties</sup> name, That they wold not scruple to submitt all to him If they knew it were his pleasure. (I told him I meant not to give his Royall assent till first his Maj<sup>tie</sup> had seen it. This satisfyed him exceedingly, And then he told me how he had answered all his brethrens objections, But hoped I wold not put them to vote it till I had a returne from the King. I answered That I behoved to have it pass the Articles, but should not bring it in to the parl<sup>t</sup> Till his Maj<sup>tie</sup> declared his pleasure. *At last he desired the addition of one word where the externall government is mentiond adde [as it is settled by Law]* This I saw well wold overthrow all, for then the King was Limited, And all the clogs in the act of restitution, Yea his negative vote in the act for the Nationall Sinod could, not be medled with by the King. I said nothing but tooke it to advise. And this morning early I sent his brother to tell him I could never admitt it. So to the Articles we came, The Act was twice read. None said a word against it. Then he rose and made a Long set speech not worth repeating. And I did desire that if none had more to object, it might be voted, and I declared if the articles approved it, I wold transmitt it to his Maj<sup>tie</sup> and know his pleasure before I tooke it to the House. The Bishop of Rosse moved for the addition [as it is settled by Law], and he said it was to secure their government. *The Archbp. snapt him up and said how foolish such a jealousy would be of the King,* especially after what had been declared in his name, and now printed by his Maj<sup>ties</sup> command. The motion was knockt doune by E. of Tweeddale and Kincardin, and many spoke for the act without any alteration, so it was voted and past *nemine contradicente*. And heir yow have it. Now I beseech yow weigh it well, beseech his Maj<sup>tie</sup> to consider. It is most full and comprehensive, and so much the better that it is short and positive, declaring it a right inherent in the crowne, and repealing all acts and clauses of acts against it. Be assured, it will pass in the parl<sup>t</sup> without a rub, but if it be altered we are thrown into the mere. Guard well against any assaults from the English Clergie, for I suspect applications wilbe made to the Archbp. of Canterburie (thogh I am sure the Law of England gives the King as much). If his Maj<sup>tie</sup> approve it, prepare a Letter for his Royall hand unto me approving it and authorizing me to give his Royall assent to it, And hasten it hither and I answer for the succes. You shall receive shortly a draught of another act fitt to be past for the curing the B<sup>ps</sup> jealousies and knocking away vaine and idle hopes of the other side. But it must be well

digested heir first. This is onely fitt for the King himself, what I have more to say shal be in another Letter to night

Adiew

LAUDERDALE.'

Here, for the present, we close these notices. We have, month by month, and almost week by week, during several years, traced the career of Archbishop Sharp, as it appeared to the cool headed and capable men whom he was compelled to serve. We fear that the hopes that have been at times entertained that he has been a calumniated man must be abandoned. Never did any man have fairer opportunities than those which presented themselves to James Sharp at the Restoration, and never were fair opportunities so blindly neglected. He might have championed the cause of a falling Kirk. He might have condoned his apostacy by becoming the mediator in the passions which desolated his country, the protector of those who in their own language had, while his career was stainless, trusted him as their own souls. There was opened a field to the most generous ambition; and there were opened, too, miserable tracks along which knavery could make its way to success. It is altogether a waste of moral indignation to regard Sharp as a wicked man, on the grand scale; but, during many years, he was placed in circumstances which developed base and selfish instincts. We have quoted the letters which have passed in perfect privacy between his masters, and we have not found in them a single expression of affection or respect. We have seen that, if the voice of probity or honour spoke within him at all, it was in faltering and almost inaudible accents. We have shown that he was reckoned a poltroon and a liar; but as a poltroon of serviceable ability, and as a liar whose lies could be counted upon; that, unstable as he was in all else, he might always be depended upon to betray his associates and the cause which he was supposed to represent; that cajolery, however coarse and careless, would instantly draw from him the most fawning recognition, and timely menace the most abject surrender; that, after being the most trusted minister of that Kirk which had waged a century's war



against crown and nobility, he had acquired through various stages this supreme merit in the eyes of King and nobility alike, that, when dirty work had to be done, he did it really well.

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#### ART. II.—THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE.

1. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.* By JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. New Edition. Edited by J. LONGMUIR, M.A., LL.D., and DAVID DONALDSON, F.E.I.S. Four vols. Paisley, 1879—1882.
2. *The Kingis Quair.* By KING JAMES I. of Scotland. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. Edinburgh and London, 1884.
3. *Scottish History and Literature to the period of the Reformation.* By J. M. ROSS, LL.D. Edited by J. BROWN, D.D. Glasgow, 1884.
4. *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland.* By J. A. H. MURRAY, F.E.I.S. London, 1873.

IF the interest and pride which a nation takes in the language it employs for the expression of its ordinary ideas, be any guarantee of the permanence or longevity of a language, there would appear to be little reason for supposing that the Scottish language will soon cease to be used, or that it is in any imminent danger of becoming extinct or dead. Not a few are apparently of opinion, however, that it is rapidly falling into decay and that before long, though, like Greek and Latin, it may continue to be known by means of the literature in which it is preserved, it will be spoken by but few, and by them not as a vernacular but as an accomplishment or amusement. The grounds on which this opinion would appear to be based, are, that in the Lowlands the Scottish language is less generally spoken than it used to be, and that as Gaelic is rapidly disappearing from the Highlands, so Scotch must disappear



from the Lowlands. Education and the development of the means of communication with the southern kingdom, it is supposed, are sounding the knell of both, and it is feared, or expected, that before long Scotch, as well as Gaelic, will be supplanted by English.

That the Scottish language is less generally spoken in the Lowlands than it used to be, may be admitted. Eighty or a hundred years ago anything else was rarely heard; but there are circles now where it is either entirely disused, or used only as a sort of unconventional vernacular, that is, in moments of playfulness, or merely for comical effect. But that this is a reason for supposing that the language itself is decaying we have yet to learn. A dialect or language may be disused or neglected by one class of a community and survive in other classes of the same community for an indefinite period. Instances of this are not rare, and will occur to most. It may be admitted, again, that Gaelic is at least gradually disappearing from the Highlands. But the relation in which it stands to the dominant or literary dialect is altogether different from that which is occupied by the Scottish. To the Highlander acquainted only with his native Gaelic, Scotch as well as English is a foreign tongue, as unintelligible as Chinese or Egyptian. An Englishman and a Lowland Scot, on the other hand, have little difficulty in making themselves intelligible to each other in their native dialects. The development of the means of communication, again, which is doing so much to bring about the disuse of Gaelic, has on Lowland Scotch nothing like the same effect. As soon as a line of railway or of steamers approaches, the Highlander begins to learn English, or at least a dialect of English; by and by he ceases to speak Gaelic to his children, and in the course of twenty or thirty years, except among the older part of the inhabitants of the district, Gaelic ceases to be spoken. In the Lowlands anything like this rarely occurs. Notwithstanding the increase of communication with the south, and a constant influx of English visitors, Scottish parents in the Lowlands continue to speak Scotch both among themselves and to their children. Not a few of them take a pride in

speaking it, and, though quite as well acquainted with the literary dialect, prefer their own, seeing in it beauties and excellencies which the English language does not, in their opinion, possess. As for the influence of education, it seems to us that it is often greatly over rated, at least in respect to the extent to which it is affecting the language of the great bulk of the population. The English children are taught in the Public Schools is generally English with a strong Scotch flavour, and the flavour, it need hardly be said, makes all the difference. As its name implies, too, the 'English lesson' is a lesson in a foreign dialect. The language which the children speak is Scotch. Scotch, also, is the language in which they think, even while undergoing an examination in their 'English lesson.' So much is this the case that Inspectors of Schools not acquainted with Scotch or with the local idioms, have often considerable difficulty in understanding the answers given by the children to their questions. Some Inspectors, we understand, invariably refuse to accept answers which are not couched in the purest English. The practice may, of course, be justified, but in our opinion it is to be deprecated. The language of the country is not English but Scotch. But after all, the question, whether the Scottish language is decaying is a question of fact, and can be settled only by statistics. A pretty intimate acquaintance with various classes of society has induced the opinion that the language is neither decaying, nor ceasing to be spoken, but is undergoing a natural process of development, a process which is being greatly accelerated by the rapid progress of civilization, and may or may not eventuate in a closer approximation of the Scottish to the English language.

That the Scottish language and literature are attracting a considerable amount of earnest and intelligent attention, the volumes which furnish the titles we have placed at the beginning of this paper afford abundant proof. Mr. Skeat's book has been prepared for the newly founded Scottish Text Society, and bears ample witness to the solidity of his reputation for learning and skill as an editor. Whether the Society, of whose publications it forms the first instalment, will do for the language and literature of Lowland Scotland what the

Early English Text and Philological Societies have done for the literature and language of England is of course yet to be seen. This, however, may be said—it has made an excellent beginning. Its choice both of a text and an editor for its first publication has been exceedingly fortunate. It is to be hoped that succeeding editors will follow the example Mr. Skeat has set them.

Dr. Ross's posthumous volume is a work of learning and ability. Its aim is to trace the connection between Scottish history and Scottish literature. Beginning with almost pre-historic times the author follows the development of the national life and literature of the Lowlands down to the period of the Reformation. The work is written with great vigour and its pages are often eloquent. A more critical treatment of the literature, more especially with a view to exhibiting the development of the language, would have made the work of greater value; but anything of this kind does not seem to have entered into the author's plans. The least satisfactory part of the volume is the opening chapter. The subject it deals with is confessedly a difficult one, and demanded a much more careful treatment than it here receives. Had the author been spared to see its pages through the press, it is probable that more extensive reading would have induced him to omit or modify several passages which are either of doubtful accuracy or inconsistent with others. In a footnote on page 4, it is said that the Scots and Picts 'belonged to the same Gaelic race, and spoke kindred dialects.' The probability is that the race to which both the Scots and the Picts belonged was neither Gaelic nor Celtic, but non-Aryan. The Scots certainly spoke the Goidelic dialect of the Celtic language, probably as an acquired or adopted tongue; but many of the Picts did not understand it. Columba, who spoke Goidelic, could make himself understood, it is true, to King Brude and the men about him when he visited him in his stronghold in the neighbourhood of the river Ness; but when he penetrated further into the Pictish country and came in contact with plebeians and peasants, he had to preach to them, as Adamnan

says, by means of interpreters. Their language, there is reason to believe, was like their race, non-Aryan. On the same page, again, it is said, 'The Picts of Orkney vanished before the colonies of Norsemen, whom the tyranny of Harfagr compelled to seek new homes; Caithness and Sutherland were held for a time by foreign Jarls; all Southern Alban, as far as the Tay, was more than once overrun and plundered by them; the Hebrides were utterly subdued and became a bone of contention between Scandinavian rivals.' But on page 15 it is said—'There is no record of a Teutonic settlement except in the south-east.' There is no lack of evidence to shew that the Teutonic tribes which took possession of the whole eastern sea-board from the Humber to the Moray Frith, spread themselves west as far as the Grampians and, on the south of the Forth, to the borders of Galloway, and that in their progress they either expelled the tribes they found in possession or absorbed them. Yet on page 15 we read—'There is no probability that the Picts between Drumalban and the eastern sea, or even the Cymry of Strathclyde, though they lost their language and their independence, were ever expelled from their native seats, or transformed by any extraordinary infusion of a Teutonic element.' These and other inconsistencies and inaccuracies ought to have been corrected, but they are passed over by the editor without note or comment. A gracefully written memoir of the author has been added, and the work itself, is evidently the fruit of great labour.

Dr. Jamieson's Dictionary is a work of great learning and research, and is well entitled to the excellent reputation it has long enjoyed as a thesaurus of information respecting the Scottish language and people. In respect to convenience and fulness, the new edition, prepared, we understand, mainly by Mr. Donaldson, is a decided improvement on the original work. In the first place, the Supplement has been incorporated with the dictionary; and many words have been added from the writings of Barbour and Lyndsay, from the various works relating to Scotland issued by the Record Commissioners, from Mr. Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and*

*Orkney Dialect*, and from Mr. W. Gregor's *Dialect of Banffshire*. Next the number of words registered as peculiar to Clydesdale has been considerably enlarged, and the words registered under I and J, I and Y, V U and W, in the original work, have been separated and arranged under their initial letters. The phrases occurring under such words as *gae, set, mak, neir, pit, shot, tak*, have also been carefully rearranged and largely increased. And lastly, the citations in Greek and Hebrew, except from the first part of the first volume, have been judiciously omitted; and some attempts have been made to correct the etymologies. All these are very considerable improvements, and represent a large amount of labour and research. On the other hand, however, no uniform system of spelling has been adopted; no attempt has been made to represent the pronunciation, or to treat the words historically; and many words are still missing. Yet as a new edition of Jamieson, the one before us is probably all that could be expected. What is now wanted is an entirely new work, one which will do for the Scottish language what is being done for the English by the dictionary in course of publication under the editorial care of Dr. Murray. It should also exhibit the pronunciation which each word receives in different localities, and deal with the folk-lore, the manners and customs and superstitions of the country after the manner of Dr. Jamieson. The preparation of such a work would necessarily occupy a long period, and could not be completed without the aid of a large number of willing and able assistants; but surely it is not impossible. Meanwhile we look forward with interest to the publication of Mr. Donaldson's promised essay on the Scottish language, and his new Supplement to Dr. Jamieson's Dictionary, the manuscript of which, we are glad to learn, is already in the hands of the printer.

The language to which the name Scots, Scotch, or Scottish was first applied, was a dialect of the Celtic tongue. The Scots themselves landed in Cantyre and Islay towards the close of the fifth century. This was probably not their first appearance in the country. If Professor Rhys's conjecture be correct, that they were a non-Aryan tribe who had adopted

the Goidelic dialect, it is not improbable that when they landed on the shores of Argyllshire, they were simply returning to the land from which they or their forefathers had been driven by the first Celtic invaders of Britain. But be that as it may, the language they brought with them was different from that spoken by the aborigines of the country, and the same as was then used by the Celts inhabiting Galloway and Carrick, and a tract of country which may be roughly described as lying between Ardnamurchan Point, the Mull of Cantyre, the head of Lochlomond, Strathearn, Fife Ness and the South Esk. Subsequently it was adopted by the Picts living to the north of a line drawn from the South Esk to Ardnamurchan Point, and though it has long ceased to be spoken in Galloway and Carrick, it has for its modern representative the Gaelic of the Highlands. This was the original *lingua Scotica*, the language of which Kennedy says in his reply to Dunbar's taunt,—

‘It sowld be all trew Scottis mennis leid;’

and down to the fifteenth century, whenever the Scottish or Scots language was spoken of, this and no other was meant. John of Fordun, who wrote about the year 1400, says of his countrymen: ‘two languages are in use among them,—the Scottish and the Teutonic (*Scotica et Teutonica*),—the people using the latter tongue occupy the sea coast and lowland districts; the people of Scottish language inhabit the highlands and the isles beyond.’\* From the fifteenth century it began to be known as Yrische or Ersche. The language of the Lowlands, on the other hand, was known as Inglis, Englisch or English. In the *Flyting* of Dunbar and Kennedy, the former calls his rival, because of his connection with the Celtic speaking Irish Scots of Galloway and Carrick, ‘Ersch Katherane,’ an ‘Ersch brybour baird.’ His poetry he calls,—

‘Sic eloquence as thay in Erschery use,’

and boasts,—

‘I tak on me, ane pair of Lowthiane hippis  
Sall fairar *Inglis* mak, and mair parfyte  
Than thou can blabbar with thy Carrik lippis.’

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\* *Scotichronicon*, Vol. I., p. 44.



At the end of 'The Goldyn Targe' he both calls the language he uses 'Inglich' and identifies it with Chaucer's English.

'O reverend Chawcere, Rose of Rethoris all,  
As in *oure Tong* ane Flour imperiall,  
That raise in Brittain evir, quho redis rycht,  
Thou beiris of Makaris the Tryumphs riall;  
Thy fresch anamalit Termes celicall  
This matir couth illumynit have full brycht:  
Was thou noucht of *our Inglich* al the Lycht  
Surmounting eviry Tong terrestriall  
Als fer as Mayes morow dois Mydnycht.'

George, Earl of Dunbar, again, in a letter addressed to Henry IV. of England, and dated February 18th, 1400, says, 'And noble prince mervaille yhe nocht that I write my lettres in *Englis* fore that ys mare clere to myne understanding than latyne or Fraunche.' This practice of calling the language of the Lowlands English was kept up down to the sixteenth century. Thus we have Knox writing:—

'And so by Act of Parliament it was maid free to all, man and woman, to reid the Scriptures in thair awin tounge, or in the *Engliss tounge*; and so war all Actis maid in the contrair abolished. This was no small victorie of Christ Jesus, feighting against the conjured ennemyes of his verite; not small comforte to such as befor war holdin in such bondage, that thei durst not have red the Lordis Prayer, the Ten Commandimentis, nor Articules of thare fayth in the *Engliss tounge*, but thei should have bene accused of heresye.\*

The Act to which reference is here made was passed on the 15th of March, 1543, and Knox probably wrote his History some twenty or twenty-five years later, but previous to that the language of the Lowlands had begun to be called Scots or Scottish. The first to apply this name to it was apparently Gawain Douglas, in the well-known passage in the preface to his 'XIII. Bukes of Eneados of the Famosse Poete Virgill, translatet out of Latyne Verses into Scottish Metir,' &c., where he protests that he has

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\* Works, Ed. D. Laing, Vol. I., p. 100.

'Writtin in the langage of Scottis natioun,  
'Kepand na Sodroun, bot oure awin langage.'

During the seventeenth century the term would appear to have been in general use, 'Scots' or 'Scottish' being employed to distinguish what is now called the English side of a school from the Latin or classical. Thus the records of the burgh of Musselburgh bear, under date September 22, 1679, 'The Counsell condescends that John Smyth shall be master of the *Scottish schoole*, and that he shall be obliged to serve in the same office as James Hodge, late schoolmaster thereof, wes in use to doe of before, and no utherwayss.\* According to the records of the burgh of Ayr, again, it was enacted by the magistrates in 1695 that 'all persons shall be prohibited from keeping a common school—reading, writing, and arithmetic—except George Adamson, teacher of the *Scots school*.'† The whole subject, however, has been carefully gone into by Dr. Murray, who, besides several of the above citations, gives a number of others, and concludes his extremely interesting investigation as follows:—

'To sum up these authorities, then, we may say that the *lingua Scotica*, or *Scottish toung*, from the earliest period down to the year 1400, meant the Gaelic or the original Scots; which, however, from the 15th century onwards, was known to the Lowlanders as the *Yrische* or *Ersche*. The Teutonic tongue of the Lowlanders was, in like manner, known only as the *lingua Anglica*, or *Inglis*, from the earliest period to the close of the 15th century, and by many writers was called *Inglis*, even down to the union of the crowns. But during the 16th century there were foreign writers who, for the sake of distinction, and native writers who, from patriotic or political motives, began to distinguish it from the *English* of England as *Scottis* or *Scots*. And thus the tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the 14th century as *Scottish* and *English*—during the 15th century as *Yrische*, or *Ersch*, and *English*—and during the 16th century by some as *Ersch* and *Inglisch*; by others, probably as *Ersch* and *Scots*.'‡

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\* *Hist. of the Regality of Musselburgh*, p. 72; qu. in *Origin of the Scottish Language*, by J. Paterson.

† *Hist. of Ayrshire*, Vol. I., p. 195.

‡ *The Dialects of the South of Scotland*, chap i., p. 50.

What then, is the language now in use in the Lowlands, and called Scottish? That it is of Teutonic origin is clear; but as soon as we touch the question, From which branch of the Teutonic language has it descended? we are confronted by controversy. Some maintain that it is derived from the Scandinavian or Old Norse. Others maintain that its origin is Anglian. The weight of evidence seems to us to be on the side of the latter. Though the date of the first arrival of the Angles has not been accurately fixed, there can be no doubt that they were settled on the south-east long before the arrival of the Norsemen. Their first coming may have been contemporaneous with the descent of the Angles in Kent; it is not improbable, even, that they assisted the Picts and Scots against the Romanised Brythons previous to the withdrawal of the Roman troops; but be that as it may, they were evidently here in strong force before the close of the sixth century. The battle of Caltraeth, which proved so disastrous to the Britons, and confirmed the power of the Angles over the country from the Humber to the Forth, was fought not later, if not some twenty years earlier, than 596. The Wickingtide, on the other hand, did not begin until a couple of centuries later. When the Norsemen came they found the Angles in possession, and dealt out to them the same ruthless treatment as they did to the Scots to the north of the Forth, and to the Britons or Welsh in Strathclyde. The name, too, which was given to the south of the Forth was Engla-lande or England. It was known by this name as late as the close of the eleventh century. Thus, when Malcolm advanced in 1091 to meet William Rufus, it is said that 'he proceeded with his army out of Scotland into Lothian in England, and there awaited him.' When, again, the oldest Scottish literature is compared with that of the North Angle district, both are found to be written in the same language. 'Barbour at Aberdeen,' as Dr. Murray remarks, 'and Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, wrote for their several countrymen in the same identical dialect.\*' The identity continued far down into the fifteenth century,

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\* *Dialects of the South of Scotland*, p. 29.

when, from a variety of causes, but chiefly from the establishment of Scotland as a distinct nationality, the dialect of the Lowlands began to assume those characteristics which have since differentiated it from the literary dialect of the South.

As at present spoken, the Scottish language unquestionably contains a large number of Scandinavian words. This alone is sufficient to complicate the question of its origin. The question is rendered all the more difficult of solution by the close affinity there is between the Anglian and the more northern Teutonic dialects. Still, on grammatical as well as on historical grounds, we are strongly disposed to accept the theory of its Anglian derivation, so ably maintained by Dr. Murray. Certainly it is much the most likely we have seen, and is supported by arguments which have not yet been refuted.

But leaving the name and origin of the language, and passing to the language itself, one of its most remarkable features is the extraordinarily varied character of its vocabulary. Perhaps there is no language whose vocabulary has been made up from so great a variety of sources, or in which the words in daily use are so equally divided as to their origin. Scarcely a single race has been in possession of the soil, and certainly none has stood in intimate relations with the Scottish people without contributing to its stock of common words. Under the skilful hand of Professor Rhys, even the Ivernian or non-Aryan language of the aborigines has been proved a contributor, supplying as its quota several geographical and personal names. Let us take the now famous name *Macbeth*. Speaking of this, Professor Rhys observes :—

‘ It was current in Ireland, as well as in Scotland, and was sometimes treated as purely Goidelic, which would make it mean Son of Life ; but such an abstract interpretation is discountenanced by *Maelbeth*, which was likewise used in both islands, and must have meant the Slave of Beth. That this last word meant some dog divinity or dog-totem, is suggested by the probable identity of *Macbeth*—not, as we think, Duncan,—with the *Hundason*, or Hound’s-Son, of one of the Orkney Sagas that relate to their time. In that case, *Maelbeth* would be a partial translation into Gaelic of the name which, completely rendered into it, produced the *Maelchon* we have more than once mentioned in connexion with the Pictish Kings ; this,

at any rate, meant the Hound's Slave. Similarly Macbeth, put wholly into Goidelic, would be Mac-Con, or the Hound's Son, which occurs as the name of a mythical prince, whose sway was not confined to Ireland, but extended, according to Cormac, to the part of Britain in which Glastonbury stood. Mac-Con may, perhaps, be regarded as representing the whole non-Celtic race of these islands.\*

We shall not be far wrong therefore if we see in 'Macbeth' a remnant of the language of the non-Celtic aborigines of the country, or if we suppose that among those who invented the name the dog was a highly respected totem or divinity. Perhaps, too, we shall not err if, as Professor Rhys suggests we may, we identify them with the people whom Herodotus calls the Kynesii or Kynetes, both of which terms have, as he remarks, the look of Greek words meaning dog-men. *Keith*, which enters into the formation of so many names, and is itself a name, together with its form *Caith*, as in Caithness, etc., probably comes from the same people, Cait being one of the names for the legendary son of the eponymous Cruithne or Pict representing Caithness, and apparently of non-Celtic origin. The name of the island of Tiree is probably also from the same source. Formerly it was called Tirieth and Terra Hith, which reminds one of Ith, the mythical son of the famous Miled or Miles. *Bolge*, again, which appears in the modern name of Strathbolgie in Aberdeenshire, occurs among the Pictish names in the legend of St. Andrew, and as the epithet of a Pictish King called Gartnait. It is not unlikely, therefore, that in 'Strathbolgie' we have a survival of the language spoken by the non-Aryan tribes who preceded the Celts in their progress towards the west. Other names, also, which have hitherto refused to give up their secret, may prove eventually to be contributions from the same source.

The words derived from the dialects of the Celtic tribes are much more numerous and certain. It is to the Celtic that we must look for the etymology of most of the names of the great natural features of the country, as well as of many names of places, and many a surname of high and low. Celtic names, indeed, are to be met with every where, and prove that,

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\* *Celtic Britain*, pp. 260-1.

previous to the arrival of the Romans, the Celts had made themselves masters of the greater part of the country, except to the north of the Caledonian Forest. When not *hills*, *lows*, *knows*, or *fells*, the eminences are *bens* or *pens*, like Ben Macdhui, Ben Lomond, Ben Venue, Ben More, or Lee Pen, Ettrick Pen. Celtic, too, are many of the names of rivers and towns, as Clyde, Tweed, Nith, Esk, Avon, Allan; Dundee, Dunbar, Glasgow, Dumfries, Sanquhar, Aberdeen, etc. And again, just as Gaelic gave a number of words in common use to the Icelandic,\* so it has given many to the Scottish language. Thus we have *bannock*, 'a cake,' *brogue*, 'a rough kind of shoe,' *brae*, 'the side of a hill,' *clan*, 'a tribe,' *creel*, 'an oiser basket,' *cairn*, 'a heap of stones,' *collie*, 'a sheep dog,' *clachan*, 'a village,' *galore*, 'in plenty,' *gillie*, 'a servant,' *cuttie*, 'a short pipe,' *croon*, 'to hum a tune,' *plaid*, 'a blanket,' *whiskey*, 'spirit,' *loch*, 'lake,' *strath*, 'valley,' *quaich*, 'a cup,' etc.

The word 'gillie' appears again in the surname Gilchrist. 'Cuttie' is often used as an abbreviation for the name of anything short or small and in frequent or habitual use. A poacher's 'cuttie' is the short gun he carries in the side pocket of his coat. The 'bairns' cutties' may mean either the low stools on which they sit round the fire, or the short spoons made of horn with which they 'sup' their porridge.

—Honest Jane brings for ward, in a clap,  
The green-horn cutties rattling in her lap.'

A Highlander's 'cuttie' is not necessarily the tobacco pipe he carries in his waistcoat pocket; it may be the pocket flask in which he carries whisky, or the small *quaich*, cup or horn, he drinks it out of. The word is often used in the sense of 'worthless' or 'impudent,' 'Yeh cuttie!' being a phrase of not unfrequent occurrence. In Fife, Perthshire, and Berwickshire, again, 'cuttie' is the common name for the hare. In Dumfriesshire it signifies 'a short stump of a girl.' Not unfrequently it is used in the same sense as *quean* is in England. In Mearns, again, a 'cuttie' is 'a horse

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\* *Corpus Pœcticum Boreale*, Vol. I., p. lx.



or mare of two years of age.' A man is said to be *cutty-free* when he is able to handle his spoon, or when, though pretending to be ill, he retains his appetite.

*Pibroch*, according to Dr. Murray, has had a somewhat curious history.

'It is Celtic,' he says, 'in form. When the Highlander borrowed "the pipes" from his Lowland neighbour—making them so thoroughly his own that it now seems little short of heresy to refer to a time when the bagpipe was an English, not a Scottish instrument—he borrowed along with them the English names *pipe* and *piper*, which appear in Gaelic orthography as *piob*, *piobair* (pronounced *peep*, *peeper*, as in French *pipe* and sixteenth century English). From the latter, by the addition of a Celtic termination, was formed the abstract noun *piobaireachd*, piperage, pipership, piping; as from *maighstir* we have *maighstireachd*, master-ship, mastery. When the Sasunnach, having forgotten his own pipership, reimported the art from the Gael, he brought with it the Gaelicised name *piobaireachd*, softened into *pibroch*, where the old English *piper* is so disguised in the Highland dress as to pass muster for a genuine Highlander.'\*

The earliest notice of 'the pipes' in Scotland is in the Royal Treasurer's Accounts for the reign of James IV., where frequent entries occur of monies paid to 'Inglis pyparis.' Still, ingenious as Dr. Murray's theory is, there are good grounds for questioning its correctness. The pipers referred to in the Treasurer's Accounts are 'Inglis,' but it does not follow that at the time there were no Scotch or Highland pipers. The following lines from Dunbar's Testament of Kennedy show that they were then well known at least in the Celtic district of Carrick in Ayrshire.

'Bot a bag-pyp to play a spring,  
Et unum alewisp ante me  
Insteid of torchis, for to bring  
Quatuor lagenas cervisie.

'Within the graif to set sic thing  
In modum crucis juxta me,  
To fle the feyndis than hardly sing  
De terra plasmasti me.'

The probability is that the instrument, which Dunbar thought

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\* *Dialect of S. S.*, pp. 54, 55.

sufficient 'to fle the feyndis,' was also quite as well known to the north of the Clyde and along the Grampians, as it was in Celtic Ayrshire. It is quite as probable, too, that the word 'pipe' is derived from 'piob,' or some such Celtic word, as that 'piob' is derived from 'pipe.' If we might hazard a conjecture, it would be that both the instrument and the name are Celtic.

*Tartan*, usually supposed to be of Gaelic origin, is from the French *tiretaine*, 'linsey-woolsey, or a kind of it worn by the peasants in France.' Jamieson has a long and learned note upon the word, and observes that it was probably imported with the manufacture itself from France or Germany. *Kilt*, *philibeg*, *sporan*, *spleuchan*, names for other parts of the Highlander's dress or equipment, are from the Gaelic, with the exception of the first, which is Scandinavian. As might be expected, words borrowed from the Gaelic are most numerous in the dialects bordering on the Highlands. In the southern counties their number is not much greater than in ordinary English.

The influence of the Scandinavian language upon the Scottish vocabulary is not so easily traced. By Dr. Jamieson and others it has probably been exaggerated. On the dialects of Orkney and Shetland it was undoubtedly great; but two circumstances pointed out by Mr. Worsaae, would seem to indicate that on the dialects of Lowland Scotland it was not so great as is generally supposed. The first is that the whole east coast of Scotland, from the Cheviot Hills to Moray Frith, is entirely destitute of characteristic and undoubted Scandinavian monuments. The other is that in the Scottish Lowlands the places which have Scandinavian names are extremely few.\* Here and there, but chiefly in the Southern countries, there are certainly places bearing names of an unquestionably Scandinavian origin. Their number, however, is much smaller than would almost necessarily have been the case had the influence of the Scandinavian tongue upon the Scottish been as great as Dr. Jamieson and others maintained. Among

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\* *The Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, pp. 217, 202.

the words in use among the Lowland Scotch which can be clearly traced back to a Scandinavian origin, are *byre*, 'a cowhouse,' *bauch*, 'disagreeable to the taste,' *bauchle*, 'to distort, wrench, vilify, shamble,' *bauchle*, 'an old shoe,' *boun*, 'ready,' *busk*, 'to dress,' *blae*, 'blue, livid,' *baith*, 'both,' *ken*, 'know,' *kirk*, 'church,' *fit*, 'foot,' *gait* or *gate*, 'a road,' *gang*, 'go,' *garth*, 'enclosure,' *glint*, 'to glance off,' *hansel*, 'earnest-money,' *muck*, 'dirt,' *midden*, 'a dunghill,' *nowt*, 'oxen,' *scout*, 'to pour out a liquid forcibly,' *skart*, 'scratch,' *skirl*, 'a shrill cry,' *sky*, 'a cloud,' *wraith*, 'an apparition in the likeness of a person supposed by the vulgar to be seen before, or soon after death,' *yird*, 'bury,' *yaup*, 'yelp,' etc. But whether these and similar words have found their way into the language through the existence of Scandinavian settlements in the country, or have been imported from England or the Orkney and Shetland Islands, is exceedingly difficult to determine.

Dr. Jamieson remarks that among the common people in the North of Scotland the names of herbs are either the same as those still used in Sweden, and other northern countries, or nearly allied to them. The same observation, it is said, applies pretty generally throughout Scotland to the names of quadrupeds, birds, and fishes. Many Scandinavian words in use among the Orcadians and Shetlanders are to the majority of Scotsmen unintelligible. Especially is this the case with words used in the seafaring life and in farming. The old Norn dialect, however, is rapidly disappearing. In the Hebrides, where the Norsemen were once 'a mighty imperial race,' their language, it need hardly be said, has long been completely supplanted by Gaelic. But, 'where the records are silent, the very stones speak.' Out of every four names of places in the largest of the islands, three, though variously disguised, are still recognisable as Norse.

The influence of the French language on the Scottish has, as might naturally be expected, been great. That famous

'Weill keipit ancient alliance,  
Maid betuix Scotland and the realme of france.'

has left behind it innumerable traces. During the fourteenth

and two following centuries, it made Scotland, as Dr. Murray has well remarked, 'to a great extent the pupil of France in learning, art, and policy.' 'Scotchmen completed their education at the University of Paris, and founded their own Universities upon French models; the entire legal system of the country was transferred from France; and even the Presbyterian system of the Reformed Church was drawn up under the supervision of the great French Reformer. The connection between the two countries was of the closest nature, leaving its traces in almost every department of Scottish national life, and in none more so than the language.\* A glance at the literature of the period shows not only its influence on the orthography and grammatical construction of the language, but also the almost wholesale importation of French vocables. French words were used without the slightest hesitation, and the fashion with some writers was to cover their pages with them. In the modern dialects many of the words they used are obsolete, or occur only in their more English form. Still, of the words now regarded as peculiarly Scotch, very many are of French origin. The Scottish housewife still goes to the butcher and buys a *gigot*, 'leg,' of mutton, which she places on an *ashet* (*assiette*) or large flat dish. French also supplies her with the words *awmry*, *dresser*, *hotch-potch*, *haggis*, *bonnet*, and *basket*. From 'fouillé' comes *fulyie*, the 'sweepings or refuse of a town'; from 'tacher,' *tash*, 'to spot or defile'; from 'fâcher,' *fash*, 'to bother or trouble'; from 'fâcheuse,' *fashious*, 'troublesome.' 'Deuil' gives *dool*, 'sorrow'; 'glaire,' *glaur*, 'mud.' A *corbie*, from 'corbeau,' is a crow; a *port*, from 'porte,' is 'the gate of a town'; and a *causey*, from 'chaussée,' 'a pavement.' A boy has his *pouch* (O. Fr. *pouche*) full of *bools* (*boules*) made of sugar or marble; he *stravagues* (*extravaguer*) or wanders, he gets his *paumies* (*paume*), strokes on the palm of the hand with the *tawse* (this, however, is Anglo-Saxon), a leather strap, usually with a slit or fringe-like end; he *trocks*, barter, with his companions; *traps*, takes places with his classmates; goes a *message*; is fond of *geins* (*guigne*), wild cherries, and of

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\* *Dialect of the S. of S.*, p. 55.

*grossets* or *grosels* (*grosse*, *groseille*). He is *douce*, sedate; or *dour* (*dur*) stubborn; or *contraire*. Many legal phrases have also been borrowed from the French, such as *advocate*, 'counsel'; *aliment*, 'to give legal support for another'; *assoilzie*, 'to acquit'; *compear*, 'to appear in a court'; *declarator*, 'a legal declaration'; *deforce*, 'to treat with violence'; *heritor*, 'a proprietor'; *hypothec*, a 'pledge for payment of rent'; *procurator*, 'one who conducts a case in court'; *condescend*, 'to specify'; &c. On the other hand, many of the Scots law terms are good Anglo-Saxon, as, *e.g.*, *sac*, 'a plea, or suit at law, and the jurisdiction or right of judging in litigious suits'; *soc*, 'the district included within such jurisdiction'; *thol*, 'the right of extracting toll'; *them*, 'warranty'; *infangthef*, 'the right to judge and punish a thief caught 'with the fang' within the grantee's jurisdiction.'\* Very many law terms, however, are borrowed direct from the Latin.

The dialects spoken in the North of England still bear witness to the close linguistic connection, which formerly existed between the district in which they are spoken and the Scottish Lowlands. Many words generally regarded as exclusively Scotch may still be heard as far south as the Humber, and a few as far south as the Trent. Thus to the north of the Humber, in Yorkshire and the north eastern counties, if not in Westmoreland and Cumberland, *abee* is still used in the phrases 'let's abee,' 'let m' abee,' 'let abee,' in the sense of 'do not hurt, or meddle with me.' The elder tree is known as the *bourtrie* or *bottrie*; *chimla* is used for 'chimney,' and *reek*, *smeek*, sometimes *smeek*, for 'smoke'; a stupid fellow is a *gawkie*; cleverness is *gumption*; impertinence, *jaw* or *sauce*; a gate is a *yett* or *yatt*; the ears are *lugs*. *Fell* 'a skin,' is preserved in the word fellmonger, 'a dealer in skins'; *fidgie*, 'restless,' in *fidgets*. *Flitting* is used in the sense of changing

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\* See *A Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language*. By Francisque-Michel; and Prof. Innes's *Scotch Legal Antiquities*. The etymologies given in the former are sometimes a little fanciful, and many words treated are as good English as they are Scotch; but the book shows considerable research, and though not sufficiently discriminating, is well written and of great interest.

one's residence; and *gusset* is still in common use for a triangular piece of cloth inserted at the bottom on each side of a robe. Among others are *axe*, 'ask,' *barm*, 'yeast,' *faring*, 'money given to spend at a fair,' *fettle*, 'condition,' *flipe*, 'a flap,' *fend*, 'care for,' *gab*, 'idle talk,' *gang*, 'go,' *gullie*, 'knife,' *eft*, 'the after part of a boat or ship,' *dint*, 'a small indentation,' *egg*, 'urge,' *gymp*, 'scant,' *graine*, 'groan,' *beck*, 'a small stream,' *gate*, 'a street,' *gramashers*, 'gaiters reaching to the knee,' *heft*, 'handle,' *snib*, *sneck*, 'to fasten,' *hesp* and *stapple*, both used in fastening doors or gates, *muck*, 'dirt,' *midden*, 'heap,' *lift*, 'steal,' *smiddy*, 'a blacksmith's workshop,' *smit* and *smittle*, 'infect,' *mask* and *mash*, 'infuse,' *speir*, 'inquire,' *tyke*, 'a churl,' *ligg*, 'lie,' *mauk*, 'a maggot,' etc. *Mense*, though not used in the sense of 'manliness or good manners,' as in Scotland, is used in Yorkshire with the meaning of freshness, or new look. A 'dyke' in the same county is a ditch. The word 'areist' or 'areist' is preserved in the following doggerel sung by beggars in the North of England on the approach of Christmas:—

'God areist you all merry gentlemen,  
Let nothing you dismay :  
For remember that Christ our Saviour  
Was born on a Christmas day.'

People in the same district still speak of a rainy day as a *soft* day, of *swealing* a candle, and in the word *yule-clog*, the name for the log of wood placed on the fire on Christmas eve, they retain, among other things, the use of the word *yule*. The thoroughly Scotch words, *shoon*, *brawlie*, and *wunna*, may still be heard in Derbyshire.

One peculiarity of the Scottish language, which a perusal of Dr. Jamieson's Dictionary very forcibly brings home, is that many words which are spelled and pronounced in the same way as their apparently corresponding words in English, are used in a totally different sense. In some instances the explanation of this is obvious, but in others it is not. An explanation which will account equally well for every case it is perhaps impossible to give. Some of them it should be observed, however, have also the same meaning as in English.



In the following lines from Barbour's *Brus abandon*, means, as Dr. Jamieson remarks, to bring under absolute subjection:—

'Oftsays quhen it wald him lik,  
He went till huntynge with his menyne,  
And swa the land *abandownyt* he,  
That durst nane warne to do his will.'

The following passage gives a singular yet easily intelligible meaning to *animosity*:—

'Thair tounes, besydis St. Johnstoun, ar vnwallit, which is to be ascryved to thair *animositie* and hardiness, fixing all their succoris and help in the valience of their bodies.'

To *avoid* is 'to remove from.' *Baffle* is a noun denoting in Orkney and Sutherland a thing of no value; in Angus we have the phrase 'that's mere baffle,' i.e. nonsense; in Mearns, again, a baffle is a portfolio. To *baist* has in Scotland nothing to do with cooking. In the North of Scotland it signifies 'to defeat,' and one is *abaist* who is struck or overcome. In Dumfriesshire, however, we have the phrase, 'Wer't no for that I shouldna be sae baist,' i.e. afraid or apprehensive. *Bawd* is a name for the hare, a name which, though now entirely disused in England, was not unknown to Shakespeare.

'*Mercutio*. A Bawd, a bawd, soho !

*Rom*. What hast thou found ?

*Merc*. No hare, Sir, unless a hare, Sir, in a lenten pie,' etc.

*Romeo and Juliet*, Act ii., Sc. 4.

When a man and woman are *bookit* or booked, seats are not taken for them in a coach, they are registered in the Session-records in order to proclamation of the banns of marriage. A *clash* is a piece of scandal; *clatter* has the same meaning.

'When skirlin weanies see the light,  
Thou maks the gossips *clatter* bright.'

In the Shetlands a dry place is called a *bull*. To a Scotsman *curling* is suggestive neither of curl-papers, periwigs, nor hairdressers, but of frost and snow, being a game played by young and old on the ice, and known also as the 'roaring game.' A *crack* is a quiet confidential gossip. A *clod* is in Dumfriesshire a clew, as 'a *clod* hides himself, he is said to be *darning*; in Fifeshire the same term

of yarn.' A *constable* is a bumper, so is a *sheriff*. When a man is applied to him when he is eavesdropping. A *daub* is a sudden stroke. *Diet*, besides having its ordinary English meaning, signifies a fixed time or meeting for some specified purpose, as *e.g.*, a *diet* of examination, a *diet* of preaching, a *diet* of visitation, a *diet* of prayer, etc. *Dole*, which in English suggests charity, signifies in Scotch 'fraud or malice.' To *earn* is not only to win, but also to coagulate or to cause to coagulate. *Ebb* is used as an adjective with the meaning of 'shallow;' Barbour uses it as a verb in the sense of to strand, to sink by the ebbing of the tide. A *footman* is 'an iron or brass stand for holding a kettle before the fire.' A *girdle* is a circular plate of iron used for baking cakes on. A man who has a large *income* is not necessarily one who has a large salary; an *income* is also 'any bodily infirmity, not apparently proceeding from an external cause.' To *flicker* is defined in the English dictionaries as 'to flutter, or fluctuate;' Dr. Jamieson's definition is 'to coax, to flatter.' To *fling*, besides meaning to kick as a horse, and to throw, also means 'to baffle, to deceive, to jilt.' A *fling*, again, is 'a fit of ill humour.' *Lift*, which in some parts is pronounced *lift*, stands for the firmament, as in the proverb, 'If the *lift* fa', we'll gather laverocks' (larks), or, 'Maybe the *lift* will fa' and smure (smother) the laverocks;' or again, 'He could souck (suck) the larricks (larks) out o' the *lift*,' a proverb used of one who has great power of wheedling. *Mail* is rent or duty paid to a superior; a *merchant* may be a small shopkeeper; a *mere* is not a 'lake,' as in Tennyson, but a 'march or boundary;' to *mind* is not simply to attend to, but also to remember. To *mizzle* is to speckle; a *mote* is a hill; a *panel* or *pannel* is a prisoner at the bar; a *pickle* (in some parts *puckle*), a little; a *pig*, an earthen vessel, used, when filled with hot water, in place of a warming-pan; *pigtail* is a kind of tobacco; and a *pump* is a sink. *Scud* while descriptive of motion through or on the surface of water, signifies also to drink liberally; as a noun it means a stroke with the open hand, or with the *tawse*, given by way of punishment. *Socks* are ploughshares, *suffrages* are prayers for the dead, and to *justify* is to punish with death.

Distinctively Scottish words are extremely numerous. Most

of them are in daily use, and constitute what may be called the weft and woof of the language. As they stand for the various parts of the human body, for common actions, and for the ideas and things with which the popular mind is most familiar, they afford the best insight into the character of a language, though they do not necessarily furnish the best proofs as to its origin. To give anything like a complete list of them, or to indicate the origin of each word, is here of course impossible. It may not be amiss, however, to point out a few.

Let us take such as relate to one or two of the several stages of life. An infant is a *weean*, a *bairn*, or a *bairnie*, a *wee bairnie*, a *wee laddie*, or if a girl, a *lassie*, *wee lassie*, a *lassock*, or a *lassockie*, and may be either *bonnie* or *braw*. Here *lad* and *lass* are Celtic; *bairn* is Anglo-Saxon; *wee* is doubtful; Mr. Skeat is disposed to regard it as Scandinavian. A boy is a *callant*, a *chield*, or a *loon*. He is *blait*, 'bashful,' or *no* (not) *blait*, *auld farran*, 'discreet beyond his years,' *doited*, 'stupid,' *douce*, 'sedate,' *dour*, 'obstinate,' *daft*, 'foolish,' *daffing*, 'merry,' *silly*, 'delicate' or 'spiritless,' or *berly*, 'strong,' as the case may be. *Callant* is probably from the Flemish and Dutch 'kalant,' and not, as Dr. Jamieson suggests, from the French 'gallant;' *chield* is Anglo-Saxon; *loon*, Low German; *blait*, *farran*, *doited*, *daft*, and *daffing* are Scandinavian; *silly* and *berly*, Anglo-Saxon. A girl is a *dawtie* and becoming a *quean*, 'young woman,' is *bonnie* and *daintie*, 'good-looking,' *sonsie*, 'well-conditioned,' or *feckfu*, 'active.' *Sonsie* is Gaelic; *daintie* and *bonnie* are French; *feckfu* and *quean*, Anglo-Saxon. Respecting the last, Dr. Jamieson remarks, 'This is never meant as implying any reproach, unless an epithet, conveying this idea, be conjoined with it. Although familiar, it is often used as expressive of kindness.' In English, it is used always in a bad sense. *Bonnie* and *daft*, it may be remarked, are still used in the North of England in the same sense as in Scotland.

Turning to the words denoting the several parts of the body, these also betray a similar diversity of origin. For the head the same word is used as in English, but is pronounced *heed*; the sides of the head are *haffits*; the cheeks are *chafits* or *chuffs*. *Head* and *haffits* are Anglo-Saxon;

*chafts* and *chaffs*, which are also north English, are Scandinavian. For the forehead, or the part of the head between the brow and the crown, there is the word *pash*, from the Gaelic *bathais*, (pronounced *baesh*, or *bä esh*), the forehead. Its most common use is in the phrase 'a bald *pash*.' *Pow* is another form of *poll*, and comes from the Celtic through the Old Low German. *Lugs*, the ears; *broo*, the forehead; *ee* (plural *een*), the eye; and *winkers*, the eyelids, are Anglo-Saxon. The word for 'brains' is *harns*; the skull is called the *harnpan*. *Harns* recalls the German *hirn*, brains; *pan* is the Anglo-Saxon *panne*, a corrupted form of the Latin *patina*. *Brains* in Angus signifies the voice, in Lothian, spirit or mettle, and is Anglo-Saxon. *Skull* is the name for a goblet or large bowl. From meaning a goblet it came to mean 'a health;' hence to drink a man's *skull* or *skole* is to drink his health. Jamieson has a long and interesting note upon the word, in which he remarks that 'it is highly probable that a cup or bowl received this name from the barbarous custom, which prevailed among several ancient nations, of drinking out of the *skulls* of their enemies.' The note is an excellent illustration of the learning and research he brought to bear upon his work. Among others he cites the words of Silius Italicus—

'At Celtæ, vacui capitis circumdare gaudent,  
Ossa, nefas! auro, et mensis ea pocula servant;'

and the words from Ragnar Lodbrok's Death-Song, 'I shall soon drink beer from hollowed cups made of skulls.'

The Scotch word for the nose is *neis*, also spelled *nes* and *niz*. It is the same as the Latin *nasus*, the English *nose*, and the Icelandic *nes*, and the *ness* and *naze* of geographical meaning. For the mouth there are several words. The one in common use is *mou*, a contraction of 'mouth.' Others are *gob* and *munds*. *Munds* is the same as the German *mund*. *Gob* is the Gaelic *gob* the mouth. *Gab*, often used in the phrase 'gift of the gab' both in the North of England and in Scotland, is probably connected with the Icelandic *gabba*, mockery. To project the under jaw, or to distort the mouth in contempt is to *gash*, and one whose chin projects is said to be *gash-gobbit* or *gash-gabbit*. *Gash*, again,

is synonymous with *gab*. The derivation of *gam* 'a tooth,' *gans* 'the jaws without teeth,' *geggen* the under lip, is uncertain. From the chin to the breast, the fore-breast, is called the gibbie—from the Gaelic *gibian*, 'the gizzard.' A double-chin is a *flytepock*, literally a scolding bag, so denominated, Dr. Jamieson remarks, because it is inflated when one is in a rage; from *flyte*, and *pock*, a bag, as if this were the receptacle of the ill-humour thrown out in the scolding. *Choler* and *churl* also signify a double-chin. *Choler* is from *χολέρα*; *churl* and *flyte* are Anglo-Saxon. The *crag*, *craig*, or *crage* is the neck, also the throat. The *forecraig* is the front part of the neck; *skruff* and *cuff* denote the back part. *Skruff* and *cuff* occur also in the north English dialects. The name for the windpipe is the Scandinavian word *thrapple*; the Anglo-Saxon forms of which give in English 'throat' and 'throttle.' The *Oxter*, from the A.-S. *oxtan*, is the armpit. *Elbuck* or *elbock*, the elbow, is from the same source. *Gardy*, the origin of which is doubtful, is used for the arm; the *gardy-bane* is the arm-bone; a *gardy-chair* an arm chair; and *gardy-moggans* are long sleeves. The word for the hand is *han'*; for the hands *maigs*, from the Gaelic *mag*; for the palm of the hand *lufe*, a word found in Maeso-Gothic and in Celtic, but not in Anglo-Saxon; for the fist *neive* or *neif*, to which Mr. Skeat assigns a Scandinavian origin. For the stomach there are various words, as *kyte*, *wame*, *groof*, *bib*. *Groof* is Scandinavian. *Kyte* and *wame* are Anglo-Saxon, the latter is also used for the womb. *Bib* is used in Angus, and is supposed by Dr. Jamieson to be borrowed from the name given to the small pieces of linen used to cover the breast or stomach of a child. If this supposition be the correct one, the word is probably derived from *bibere*. The Teutonic word *shanks* is the ordinary name for the legs. *Shaum* and *shockles* are also used. The first is probably connected, as Dr. Jamieson suggests, with *jambe*; the second is a comical word derived from *shockle* or *shackle* 'to shamble.' For the buttocks or hips there is *hurdies*, for the loins, *hunkers*. *Hunkers* is Icelandic. To 'hunker down' is to squat down; to 'sit on one's hunkers,' to sit with the weight of the body depending from the knees. The word for foot is *spash*.

Many other words are used to denote the various parts of the body. Many others, also, might be given as the signs of familiar ideas and things. The above are sufficient for our purpose. They show that the basis of the language is Teutonic; but whether the language is derived from the Scandinavian or Anglian branch, they afford no sure proof. In number and importance they are about equally divided between the two branches. If there is any difference, those derived from the Anglo-Saxon predominate.

In the earlier stages of the Teutonic dialects spoken in Britain, the Northern often developed itself more rapidly than those of the South, throwing off inflections and adopting forms long before the same phenomena appeared in the Midland or Southern dialects. Dr. Murray remarks,—

‘When the curtain rises over the northern dialect, in England towards the close of the 13th century, and in Scotland nearly a hundred years later, the language had become as thoroughly uninflectional as the modern English, while the sister dialect of the south retained to a great extent the noun-, pronoun-, and adjective-declension of the Anglo-Saxon. The same phenomenon of earlier development has been repeated in almost every subsequent change which the language has undergone. The South has been tenaciously conservative of old forms and usages, the North has inaugurated, often by centuries, every one of those structural changes which have transformed the English of Alfred into English as it has been since the days of Shakspeare.’ \*

Since the period of the Reformation, however, the tendency of the Scottish language appears to have been almost entirely conservative. One result is that many words now obsolete in England, are in Scotland still in use. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the vocabularies of Chaucer and Spenser, or even of Shakespeare with Jamieson, will be struck by the large number of ‘Scotch’ words which the former contain. The thoroughly Scotch phrase, *What gars ye greet?* will be understood by scarcely one Englishman in a hundred. Yet, turning to Spenser’s ‘Shepherd’s Calendar’ for April, it occurs in the first line almost word for word.

‘Tell me, good Hobbinol, what garres thee greet?’

*Gar*, ‘to cause,’ and *greete*, ‘weep,’ are used also by Chaucer.

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\* *Dialect of S. S.*, p. 24.



The number of Chaucerian words preserved in Scotch is remarkable. Chaucerian, for instance, are many of the words given above as derived from the French, and from the Scandinavian. Here are some of the Anglo-Norman words used by Chaucer, and still current as Scottish:—*advoutrie*, 'adultery,' *arestie*, 'constrain, stop,' *baillie*, 'an official,' *doole*, 'grief,' *egre* (Sc. *aigre*), 'sharp, biting,' *gabbe*, 'idle talk,' *galoche*, 'shoe,' *hochepot*, 'hotch-potch,' *hurtle* (Sc. *hirsle*), 'push,' *jangle*, 'babble,' *leche*, 'physician,' *malisoun*, 'curse,' *maugre*, 'ill-will,' *mervaille*, 'marvel,' *pawmes*, 'palms of the hands,' *penner*, 'a pence,' *poke*, 'bag,' *pouche*, 'pocket,' *provostrie*, 'office of a provost,' *quayre*, 'book,' *remenaunt*, 'remnant,' *sorte*, 'arrange, allot,' *tache*, 'a spot.' Among other words now reckoned as Scotch, he has *ane*, 'one,' *ought* or *aught*, 'owed,' *bale*, 'loss,' *bathe*, 'both,' *bode*, 'delay,' *bode*, 'an omen,' *carl*, 'a churl,' *chapman*, 'merchant,' *daf*, 'to fool,' *dedly*, 'devoted to death,' *draf*, 'refuse,' *eme*, 'an uncle,' *fell*, 'a skin,' *fremde* (fremd), 'foreign,' *ferly*, 'strange,' *hals*, 'the neck,' *hern* (Sc. *hirne*), 'a corner,' *hynderest*, 'hindmost,' *lerne*, 'to teach,' *mavys*, 'thrush,' *micheel*, *muchel*, 'great,' *pan*, 'the skull,' *querne*, 'a handmill,' *sark*, 'shirt,' *syn*, 'since,' *straughte*, 'stretched,' *tane*, 'taken,' *thak*, 'thatch,' *thole*, 'bear,' etc.

Scotch has also preserved a number of words which occur in Spenser and Shakespeare, but are now obsolete in English. Besides *gar* and *greete*, to which reference has already been made, the former uses the following:—*assoyled*, 'absolve,' *breeme*, 'keen,' *doole*, 'grief,' *eme*, 'uncle,' *gerne* (Sc. *girn*), 'to distort the countenance,' *ken*, 'know,' *kirke*, 'church,' *lere*, 'lore,' *ligg*, 'lie,' *mirksome*, 'dark,' *skean*, 'knife,' *stouris*, 'dust,' etc. In Shakespeare we have *wee*,—'He hath but a little *wee* face; *wood* (Sc. *wud*), 'mad,'—'O that she could speak like a *wood* woman;' *neif*, 'fist,'—'Give me your *neaf*, Monsieur Mustardseed;' *hent*, 'seized,'—

'The generous and gravest citizens  
Have hent the gates.'

Other Scotch words to be found in Shakespeare are,—*foison*, 'plenty,' *dint*, 'stroke,' *daff*, 'to fool,' *scatheful*, 'destructive,' *silly*,

'weak,' etc. Instead of *horn-daft*, he uses *horn-mad*, and in the 'Winter's Tale' we have an instance of the use of *pash*,—

'Thou want'st a rough *pash* and the shoots that I have  
To be full like me.'

The word is generally explained as signifying 'face,' but the meaning current in Scotland suits the sense better.

Besides the above and many other words once current in English, the Scottish language has in several instances preserved whole families of words, which are now wholly obsolete in English, or of which only one or two members have survived. Chaucer and Spenser have not only *siker*, 'sure,' they have its derivatives, *sikerly*, 'surely,' and *sikerness*, 'sureness.'\* In English this family of words is now entirely obsolete. Scotch retains it. In English the only survivals of the word *couth*, the past participle of the verb to *ken*, are *uncouth*, *uncouthly*, and *uncouthness*; the Scottish language has also *couth*, *couthie*, *coudy*, *couthily*, *couthiness*, *coudiness*, *couthlike*, *couthless*, *uncouthie*. The only existing representative in English of the old Anglo-Saxon verb *ug*, 'to feel abhorrence at, to nauseate,' is the word 'ugly,' but in Scotch there are also *ugsum*, *ugfow*, *ugsomeness*. The negative particle *wan*, now completely obsolete in English, occurs in several Scottish words, e.g., *wancanny*, 'unlucky,' *wanchancie*, 'unlucky,' *wancouth*, 'uncouth,' *wanearthlie*, 'unearthly,' *wangrace*, 'wickedness,' *wanhap*, 'misfortune,' *wanhope*, 'delusive hope,' *wanrest*, 'unrest,' etc.

Considering the history of the language previous to the Reformation, this conservative tendency is somewhat remarkable. Another illustration of it, we may mention, is the power of making words. This power English seems to have almost entirely abandoned, at least so far as its own words are concerned. Scotch, on the other hand, has retained it. Such words as the following are numerous: *back-speirin*, 'cross-examining;' *back-friend*, 'one who supports another;' *back-cast*, 'retrospective;' *back-coming*, 'return;' *back-fear*, 'an object of fear behind;' *bairn's-play*, 'sport of children;' *banes-brakin*, 'breaking of limbs;' *by-common*, 'singular;' *by-coming*, 'the act of passing through a place;' *ee-*

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\* Chaucer has also *sikerde*, 'assured.'

*list*, 'a flaw;' *ee-stick*, 'something acceptable;' *forespeaker*, 'an advocate;' *forethouchtie*, 'caution;' *foreworne*, 'exhausted with fatigue;' *gae-down*, 'the act of swallowing;' *gathering-coal*, 'a coal used for the purpose of keeping the fire in all night.' Numerous also are others which seem to have been formed simply for the purpose of imitating sounds, such as *argle-bargle*, 'to bandy;' *bringle-brangle*, 'a confused noise;' *bulliheizilie*, 'a scramble;' *bumbeleery-bizz*, 'a cry used to frighten cows;' *bubblyjock*, 'a name given to the turkey;' *carrywarry*, 'name for a kind of burlesque serenade made with pots, pans, kettles, &c.;' *collieshangie*, 'uproar;' *chinkie-winkie*, 'contention;' *currie-wirrie*, 'a noisy habitual growl;' *fligmageerie*, 'vagary;' *rebbe rabble*, 'disorder,' &c.

The grammar of the Scottish language forms an interesting and curious study, and deserves more attention than it has yet received. Dr. Murray's volume, besides discussing the history of the Scottish Language, contains an excellent grammar of the dialect of the Southern counties. Much has also been done for the grammar of the Old Northern English by Dr. Richard Morris. Mr. Gregor, too, has contributed somewhat to our knowledge of the dialects of the north of Scotland. But any attempt to write a grammar for the whole of the Scottish Language, dealing with its principles and pointing out the distinguishing features of its various dialects, has not, so far as we know, been made. Some of its grammatical peculiarities may here be noted.

The plural suffix in *en* is retained not only in the word *ousen* or *oxen*, but also in *shoon*, 'shoes,' *een*, 'eyes,' *hosen*, 'stockings.' *Childer* is used as in the north of England for 'children.' The old plural *breidir* or *brethir* is giving place to *brithers*. Collective nouns are usually construed in the plural. Certain preparations of food, as, *e.g.*, *brose*, *kail*, *soup*, *parritch*, *sowens*, are always spoken of as *they* or *them*, *few* or *monie*: *e.g.*, 'Here's a drap parritch, sup them at ance else they'll be ower cauld.'

In adjectives of quality Scotch is extremely rich. Many of them are remarkably expressive. To give their meaning in English it is requisite to use in many cases several words. *Gruesome*, *eerie*, *weirdlike*, for example, have in English no exact equivalents; their meaning can be expressed only by a periphrase. The

more frequent terminations for derivative adjectives are *ie*, *fu*, *some*, *less*, *ish*; as *couthie*, 'kindly,' *carefu*, 'careful,' *waesome*, 'woful' *thochtless*, 'thoughtless,' *fairish*, 'pretty good.' Others are *rif* and *le*, as *waukrif*, 'wakeful,' *kittle*, 'difficult,' *smittle*, 'infectious.' After the comparative degree, *nor*, *as*, and *be* are often used instead of 'than.' *Be* with an adjective in the positive degree gives an emphatic comparative. 'Young be you' means decidedly younger. Besides *verra*, 'very,' several other words are used to express the superlative absolute, such as *real*, *richt*, *unco*, *byous*. *Real*, *recht*, or *unco gude* is 'particularly good.' *Unco* is often used in the sense of the old word *uncouth*, 'unknown.' Ross in his 'Helenore' has 'An unco din she hears of fouk and play.' *Byous*, though said to belong to Aberdeenshire, is used over a much wider area, and signifies extraordinary, exceedingly, out of the common run. The middle east coast dialect, has for its strongest form of comparison the peculiar phrase, *by-the-byes*, which is probably a corruption of *by-the-byous*. A thing is said to be *by-the-byes* when it possesses the quality referred to in a preposterous degree, or in a degree beyond all measure or conception. *Fel* and *gey* are also used in comparisons, and signify moderately, fairly, but sometimes very, or exceedingly. In Perthshire, Fife, Forfarshire, etc., 'That's fel guid,' means exceedingly good. *Awfu* is used in the same sense as the Greek *δευός*. *Sair*, 'very,' is used with a touch of compassion.

The plurals of *this* and *that*, are *thare* and *thay*. Where an Englishman uses 'these,' the Scotch use 'those.' Instead of 'yon,' Scotch has 'thon.'

The pronouns 'it' and 'us,' are often aspirated; not, however, after the Cockney fashion, but in accordance with the old usage of the language. Thus, in a Paternoster of the thirteenth century, given by Mr. Ellis, we have—

' Vre bred that lastes ai  
gyue it *hus* this hilke dai,  
and vre misededis thu forgyue *hus*  
als we forgyue thaim that miedon *hus*.'

'It' and 'us' are aspirated chiefly when emphatic. *Mines* is used for 'mine,' and the old North English relative *at* is retained.

The verb presents several peculiarities. Where the English uses *ed* or *d* as the termination for the past tense, or for the past participle, Scotch uses very frequently *it* or *t*. Thus 'slipped' is *slippit*, 'talked,' *talkit*, 'licked,' *lickit*, 'wondered,' *wunn'rt*. 'Told,' again, is *telt*. On the other hand, 'slept' is often *sleeped*, 'went,' *gaed*, and 'saw,' *seed*, 'bent' is *bendit*, and 'gone' is often *went*. 'Let' and 'put,' again, make in the past *lat* and *pat*, and in the past participle, *latten* and *putten*. For 'the men came,' 'you were,' Scotch has 'the men cum'd,' and 'you was,' or 'wes.' Besides the gerund or verbal noun in *ing*, it has also the old present participle in *and*. Instead of the auxiliary 'do,' it has *div* and *dow*; for 'shall,' *sal*, for 'have,' *hae*, and for 'must,' *maun*.

Negative sentences are generally formed by using the suffix *na*, or the word *no*. *Dinna gang*; *A canna*; *Div ye no ken?* *Didna ye see't?* *Ye maunna dee't*, mean 'Do not go,' 'I cannot,' 'Do you not know?' 'Did you not see it?' 'You must not do it.' For 'shall I?' *wull a?* is used; and for 'will not,' *wunna*. *Wha's aucht that?* is a curious phrase meaning 'whose is that?' *Aucht* is from the Anglo-Saxon *agan*, *ahan*, 'to own,' or, 'to make to own,' and, as already pointed out, is used by Chaucer.

*But*, *bot*, and *ben*, are still used with their old meaning, and, as prepositions, signify 'without,' and 'within.' *But* occurs in the motto of the Macintoshes,—'Touch not the cat *but* (*i.e.*, without) a glove.' Barbour uses it in the sense of 'except,'—

'Quhile he had with him, *but* archeris,  
And *but* burdowys and awblasteris,  
V hundre men.'

*Ben* on the other hand signifies, when used as a preposition, within. '*Ben* the house' is 'in the house.' Both words are also used as adverbs. 'Gae *but* the house' may mean either 'go from the inner to the outer room,' or 'go outside the house.' 'Come *ben*,' on the other hand, is 'come in.' 'Gae *ben*,' again, is 'go into the inner room.' 'Stay *ben*' is 'remain within.' *Ben*, again, is often used to denote intimacy or favour. 'He's far *ben*' means 'He is admitted to great favour or intimacy.' 'O'wer far *ben*,' again, is used to

indicate too great an intimacy. Both *but* and *ben* are also used as substantives. A house with a *but* and a *ben* is one with an inner and an outer room, or one consisting of a room and kitchen. The two words are likewise used as adjectives. The *but* end of a house is the kitchen. Its *ben* end is always its best part. Hence the *ben* end of anything else, e.g., the *ben* end of one's dinner, is always the best or principal part of it. *Ben* admits of the degrees of comparison. The author of *Poems in the Buchan Dialect* speaks of the Trojan's '*benner* pauntries,' and Burns in '*The Jolly Beggars*' has

'The kebars sheuk  
Aboon the chorus roar ;  
While frightened rattons backward leuk  
And seek the *benmost* bore.'

Persons who live on the opposite sides of the same passage, are said to live *but and ben* with each other.

In diminutives the Scottish language is exceptionally rich. Thus from *bit* are obtained *bittie*, *bittock* and *bittockie*. These may be diminished still more by the use of *wee*; as, a *wee bittie*, and even by the repetition of *wee*; as, a *wee wee bittockie*. Not unfrequently the diminutives are employed to express sympathy, affection, or endearment, as in the phrases, a *bit wean*, a *bit weanie*, a *wee bit wean*, a *bit wee wean*, and the *bits o' weans*, i.e., the bairns or the children.

For the purpose of indicating indefinite number and quantity Scotch has a considerable variety of words. A *ween* is a few or a lot out of many; a *pickle* is a little pick, i.e., as much as can be taken up by the finger and thumb, or by the hand, out of a heap. A *byt* is a little; a *hantle* is a considerable number or quantity. *Feck* is used for 'the greater part,' 'the feck o' a hunner' is the greater part of a hundred. *Vast*, *lot*, *heep*, indicate an indefinitely large number. A *hew* is a very small quantity; a *haet* is 'the smallest conceivable piece.' *Wheen*, *pickle*, *byte*, *hew*, and *hantle* may be diminished by prefixing *wee* or enlarged by employing *gey* or *guid*, &c. *Haet* is often used with the name of the devil to express the most absolute negative. Burns has



'But gentlemen an' ladies warst,  
Wi' ev'n down want o' wark are curst,  
They loiter, lounging, lank an' lazy ;  
Tho' deil haet ails them, yet uneasy.'

This use of the name of the evil one, however, is scarcely peculiar. We may remark in passing that in Scotch the names for the devil are numerous. Besides Hornie, Satan, Nick, Cloutie, Nickie Ben, there are several others. If a multiplicity of names be any sign of familiarity or fear, there are few countries where the Prince of Darkness has been so well known, or so greatly feared.

When turning over the pages of Dr. Jamieson's dictionary, we meet with much more than dictionaries usually contain. Dr. Jamieson was not only a philologist; he was also an ardent student of Scottish antiquities, and brought a great amount of learning and industry to their illustration. Since he wrote, antiquarian studies have made great progress, and much has been done to throw light upon the literature and antiquities of the northern nations of Europe: yet, though here and there his long and admirably written articles on the manners and customs and superstitions of the country, may be convicted of slight inaccuracies, in their main outlines they are singularly accurate. They are always entertaining, and besides illustrating the meaning of the words to which they refer, are full of suggestions as to the intellectual and social condition of the country in the past. On another occasion we may possibly return to them.

## ART. III.—THE NEW LIGHT UPON ST. PATRICK.

*Vita Sancti Patricii, Hibernorum Apostoli, auctore Muirchu Maccumachtheni, et Tirechani Collectanea de S. Patritio—nunc primum integra ex Libro Armachano, ope Codicis Bruxellensis.* Edidit R. P. EDMUNDUS HOGAN, S.J., operam conferentibus PP. Bollandianis. (Excerptum ex *Analectis Bollandianis*.) Bruxellis. Typis Polleunis, Ceuterick et Lefébure, 1882.

IT has long been admitted among the learned that the documents concerning the Apostle of Ireland, contained in the Book of Armagh, are the purest and earliest records of his life which exist, and to a great extent the foundations upon which all subsequent matter of the sort has been based, and that among these documents the most important pieces, after the *Confession*, which is the work of Patrick himself, are the *Life* and the *Collectanea*. That these works had hitherto been placed before students only in a most imperfect manner was but little less matter of regret and complaint than the fact that the *Life* was imperfect in the Armagh Codex, and that the loss of the beginning, in particular, rendered it useless upon the earlier part of his career, and especially upon the details of his mission to Ireland, the very point upon which historical controversy had been most keenly exacerbated, one group of writers maintaining that he was an emissary despatched by Pope Celestine before the end of July, A.D. 432, and another that his emigration to the scene of his apostolate was of somewhat later date. The excitement among the increasing school to whom the history of Ireland and of Celtic Christianity is the subject of scientific investigation was therefore very great, when it was known that the Bollandist, Fr. de Smedt, had discovered a new Codex of the same biography as that contained in the Book of Armagh, embracing not only the three chapters hitherto missing in the body of the work, but the lost commencement as well. The Bollandists, with that earnest devotion to solid historical science which is among them so glorious

a tradition, determined to issue a critical text of the *Vita* and *Collectanea*, and entrusted the task to Fr. Edmund Hogan, now one of the Professors of Gaelic in the Catholic University of Dublin. The result most fully justifies the acuteness of their selection. The least merit of the work is that it is printed with a luxurious clearness which robs the masses of footnote and reference of nearly all their terrors. The texts have been produced with such correctness that a most searching examination by Dr. Whitley Stokes is said to have revealed only some half-dozen unimportant misprints. The collations of the MSS. are given in full, with the addition of a vast number of ingenious conjectural emendations, and a judicious number of pregnant notes. The lucid clearness of the editor's own style is a merit of which it would be affectation to deny the value, when the question is of reading a book in Latin, and he has been singularly happy in the way in which, in an introduction consisting entirely of matter of the keenest interest, he has succeeded in being concise without obscurity, and full without diffuseness. The extent of his reading is evidently admirable, and he is gracefully courteous in his references to other writers, while he seems himself to have succeeded in forming, although he abstains from enunciating it, some definite idea of his own upon the history of Patrick, a feat the difficulty of which can be realised only by those who have attempted it.

The Book of Armagh is a New Testament, enriched with Concordance Tables, and illustrative matter from Hilary, Jerome, and the arch-heretic Pelagius. It contains the Epistle to the Laodiceans, attributed to St. Paul, though with the remark that Jerome denies its authenticity. The books of Scripture are followed by pieces relating to Martin of Tours, and preceded by four connected with Patrick. These are (a) the *Life*, (b) the *Collectanea*, followed by an Index of the preceding, (c) the *Book of the Angel*, or alleged Revelation made to Patrick by the Angel Victor concerning the prerogatives of the Church of Armagh, and (d) the *Confession*. The precise date of the MS. has been discovered with extraordinary acuteness by the Rev. Charles Graves. By minute investigation he found, in a palimpsest form, some colophons indicating that it

had been written by one Ferdomnach, at the order of a Bishop of Armagh, whose name ended in *ach*. The deaths of two scribes of Armagh named Ferdomnach are recorded at 726 and 844 respectively, but the latter alone was contemporary with Bishops whose names ended in *ach*, and of these the name of Torbach alone fits the space of the erasure. As Torbach sat only one year, the date is fixed with certainty to 806 or 807, or, accepting O'Donovan's amended chronology, 811 or 812. The idea, however, came to prevail that the MS. contained an autograph of Patrick;\* as early as 937 Donnchad, son of Flann, King of the Irish, enclosed it in a precious reliquary; and the M'Moyre family were ultimately endowed (*Maor*=Keeper) to keep it safely. Florence M'Moyre pawned it for £5 in 1680, when he was going to London to give evidence against Archbishop Oliver Plunket. Thus it came into the hands of Arthur Brownlow, and remained in the Brownlow family till 1853, when the Rev. William Reeves bought it for £300, and sold it for the same sum to the Anglican Archbishop Beresford, on condition that it should be deposited for ever in Trinity College Library, where it now is. As regards the dates of the two authors whose works are now published from this noble Codex in so worthy a form, both are of the seventh century. Tirechan describes himself as a disciple of Ultan O'Conchobair, whose death is recorded at A.D. 656, and Muirchu Maccumachtheni as writing at the command of Aed, Bishop of Sletty, who died about A.D. 698.

The newly discovered text of the *Life* is contained in a MS. collection of Saints' Lives in the Royal Library of Brussels; and the only complaint which can be made of Fr. Hogan is that he has not given a rather fuller account of the other contents of this volume. It is true that these so-called biographies only too generally consist of stories which can scarcely be called history, but it is from them, by a proper application of criti-

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\* Possibly on account of the following words (evidently referring to the contents or copied from a note on the original copy) after the *Confession*—  
'Thus far the book which Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the seventeenth day of March was Patrick taken to the heavens.'

cal solvents, that a very great deal of the true history of the times to which they relate is derived, and they are, at worst, most interesting monuments of the epoch when they were written, and picturesque records of very antient and generally graceful popular legends. This actual volume shows three hands of the eleventh century. It formerly belonged to the Irish Monastery of Würzburg.

To write a thorough disquisition upon the publication now in question would be to write a book upon the Life and Times of Patrick. It is therefore proposed here merely to take the portion, nearly all of which is perfectly new, viz., that touching the career of Patrick till his arrival in Ireland as her Apostle, and to set it in comparison, assisted by a few observations, with his own account of the same period in his *Confession*. This is indeed the only part of his Life which can be submitted to that test. To the rest of the book it is purposed to refer here no more than may be necessary, and an endeavour will also be made to keep as clear as possible of the wearisome, envenomed, and not unfrequently even ridiculous controversies which have for so long raged around this interesting subject. The scribe of the Würzburg Codex gives the reader at the very outset a terrible indication of his ignorant incapacity. His so-called Prologue is actually a scrap from some Life of Basil the Great, with two sentences regarding Patrick embedded in it. They are as follows :—\*

‘From the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ unto the death of Patrick are reckoned 436 years.

‘I have found four names in the book *Scripta Patricii* belonging to Bishop Ultan Concubrensis :† holy *Imigonus*, which is clear ; *Sucsetus*, he

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\* The heading, after the real old Irish manner, contains a Greek word, ‘In the name of the King of the sky, the Saviour of this *kosmos*.’

† *Abuduldanum episcopum Concubrensum*. Fr. Hogan’s conjectural emendation for the first word is ‘apud Ultanum.’ *Concubrensum* is elsewhere written *Conchuburnensium*. From his being called, in the Festology of Oengus, *maic hui Conchobair*, it would appear that this strange title simply means that his surname (as we should now call it) was ‘O’Conchobar.’ *Concubrensum* or *Conchuburnensium* is perhaps meant for a Genitive Plural, and, if so, would mean, ‘Bishop of the Hyconchobar.’

is Patrick ; for he served four houses of magi, and one of them whose name was the magus *Miluch Mocuboin* bought him, and he served him seven years. Patrick the son of Alornus had four names. *Sochet* when he was born ; *Contice*, when he served ; *Mavonius*, when he read ; *Patrick*, when he was ordained.'

Since it may be regarded as certain that Maccumachtheni imagined the Passion to have taken place in A.D. 34, it will be observed that he fixes the death of Patrick at or about A.D. 470. After this singular preface, the *Life* proceeds as follows :—\*

'(1.) Of the birth of holy Patrick and of his captivity in Ireland.

'Patrick, who was also called *Sochet*, a Briton by nation, [was] born in the Britains,† begotten of the Deacon Cualfarnus, a son, as he himself saith, of the Priest Potitus, who was of the village *Ben navem thabur indecha*, not (*ut ? haud*) far from our sea, which village we have constantly and undoubtedly ascertained to be *ventre*,‡ conceived also of a mother named Concessa. When he was a boy of sixteen years [of age] he was captured along with others, carried over into this island of savages, [and] held in slavery with a certain heathen and cruel king. He [there passed] six years after the Hebrew manner,§ with fear of God and trembling, according to the saying of the Psalmist, in many watchings and prayers. An hundred times in the day and an hundred times in the night used he to pray, willingly returning, and beginning to fear God and to love the Lord Almighty ; for until that time he knew not the true God, but then the spirit grew hot within him. After many tribulations there, after hunger and thirst, after cold and nakedness, after feeding flocks, after many visits of the angelic Victorius sent unto him from God, after great virtues known unto almost all, after answers from God, of which I will show only

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\* The present writer begs to deprecate criticism upon the badness of the English of his translations. It is impossible to translate Latin word for word into good English, and here the Latin is, in addition, very bad. He has preferred verbal fidelity to any attempt at elegance.

† *Britannis*, but *Britanniis* seems almost certainly meant.

‡ The word seems to have been first written *venitre*. Fr. Hogan gives, in a footnote, a guarded adhesion to the opinion which identifies *Ben navem thabur indecha* with Kilpatrick on the Clyde. The meaning on the surface of *ventre* would be *white town* (*gwen, tre*.) Is it possible that it has something to do with nearness to Paisley, generally identified with *Vanduaris* or *White-water* (*gwen, dwfr*), from the White Cart ? Assuming *ventre*, as is not improbable, to be a genitive, the passage might be rendered 'which we have ascertained . . . to be a village of *Ventra*.'

§ The reference is to Ex. xxi. 2., etc.



one or two here for example's sake—*Thou fastest well, thou shalt soon go unto thine own fatherland*, and again; *Behold, thy ship is ready*, which was not at hand, but he had perchance miles to traverse \* where he had never travelled; after all these things, as we have learnt, which hardly any one can count, with unknown savage and heathen men, worshippers of many and false gods, already in the ship prepared for him, having forsaken the tyrant and heathen with [all] his works, and taken the heavenly and eternal God in holy company. . . . † save that of God, in the twenty-third year of his age he sailed over unto the Britains.‡

‘2. Of his voyage with the Gentiles.

‘So [he was] carried about hither and thither in the sea for three days and as many nights, like unto Jonah, along with the wicked, afterwards for twice ten and eight daily lights together, in the manner of Moses, but in another sense, wearied in the desert, the Gentiles murmuring like the Jews, ready to faint with hunger and thirst, [he] constrained by the captain [of the ship,] tried, and besought that he would pray for them unto his God that they might not perish, moved with compassion upon the multitude, troubled in spirit, worthily crowned, glorified by God, he afforded abundance of meat [for himself along] with the multitude, from an herd of swine which God sent unto him, as from [a flock of] quails.§ Wild honey *nica* or *coturnicibus* seems (from the previous comparison to Moses and the Israelites in the wilderness) overwhelmingly probable.

also came unto him as unto John of old, the flesh of swine, however, being substituted, as the utterly degraded Gentiles deserved, for the eating (*usu? esu*) of locusts. But that holy Patrick, tasting nothing of these meats, for it had been offered [to idols], remained unhurt, neither hungering nor thirsting. But the same night, while he slept, Satan vehemently tried him, fixing vast rocks upon him and already breaking his arms and legs, but when he had twice called aloud upon Elias, the sun arose upon him, and by its splendour drove away all the darkness of the night, and his strength was restored unto him.

‘3. Of the other captivity of Patrick.

‘And a second time after many years he endured captivity by strangers. Where, the first night, he earned to hear an answer from God, saying unto him: *Two months shalt thou be with them, that is, with thine enemies*. And it was so. And upon the sixtieth day the Lord delivered him out of their hands, providing unto him and his comrades food and fire and dryness until upon the tenth day they came unto men.

\* *Ducenda*, but Fr. Hogan suggests *ducenta*, two hundred.

† *Excepto divino*; there is evidently an hiatus here, and Fr. Hogan suggests, with great probability, some such words as ‘with no help.’

‡ In the Plural, i.e., the Roman provinces in Great Britain. In the Singular, *Britannia* sometimes means Brittany, but never in the Plural.

§ *Ex coturni*, but Fr. Hogan's suggestion that this is a mistake for *cotur-*

'4. Of his welcoming by his kinsfolk.

'And a second time, after a few years, as before, he rested in his own fatherland among his kinsfolk, who received him as a son, beseeching him that then at any rate, after so great tribulations and trials, he would never leave them again for the rest of his life. But he consented not. And there were shown unto him many visions. And he was thirty years of age, according to the [word of the] apostle, unto a perfect man *et cetera*, to the fulness of Christ.\* [He] went forth to visit and honour the Apostolic See, to the head also of all the Churches of the whole world, that now knowing the divine and holy mysteries whereunto God called him that he might learn, and understand, and fulfil them, and that he might preach and confer the grace of God among the nations outside, turning [them] unto the faith of Christ.

'5. Of the finding of holy Geraianus† in the Gauls, and therefore he went forth no farther.

'When, therefore, he had sailed over the right-hand British sea, and started on the journey through the Gallic Alps, to pass through, as he had proposed in his heart, even unto the uttermost, he found a certain most holy Bishop in the city of Alsiodorum,‡ the Prince Germanus, a most precious gift. With him he tarried no small while, according to that which Paul was at the feet of Gamaliel, and, in all subjection, and patience, and obedience, with all the desire of his soul, learned, loved, and kept knowledge, wisdom, and chastity, and all useful things not only of the spirit but also of the soul, with great fear and love of God, in goodness and singleness of heart, in strength§ in body and in spirit.

'6. Of his age when the angel visited him that he should come unto Ireland.

'And when many times were passed there, as, as [say] some, xl., others, xxx. years, that right faithful elder called Victorius, who (*at this point begins the Book of Armagh, but the text here given is still that of the Würzburg Codex*) had said all things unto him when he was in captivity in Ireland, before that they were, visited him with many visions, saying unto him that the time is come that he should come and preach the Gospel

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\* *Sic!*

† So the MS., but surely *Germanus* must be meant.

‡ It is natural to suppose that this is meant for *Auxerre—Antissiodorum*—the See of Germanus, but Fr. Hogan brings forward, with great modesty, an ingenious suggestion that it may mean *Auch—Augusta Ausciorum*—and that Patrick's consecrator, variously called Amathus, Amathorex, etc., etc., may have been one Armentarius, Bishop of Auch in the middle of the fifth century. The present writer cannot express his assent to this view, and inclines to Antissiodorum, but any suggestion coming from such a man as Fr. Hogan must be received with attention.

§ *Vigore*. Probus reads *virgo*, and Fr. Hogan wishes to follow him.

among the fierce and savage tribes, to teach whom God had sent him to fish;\* and there it was said unto him: *The sons and daughters of the wood of Foclada are calling thee, et cetera.*†

‘7. Of his return from the Gauls and the ordination of Palladius.

‘When therefore a meet time commanded, God’s help accompanying with him and counsel accompanying, he entereth upon the way [already] begun, unto the Gospel work for which of old time work had been prepared, and he sent the elder Germanus with him,‡ that is, Segitius the Priest, that he might have a witness and useful comrade, for neither yet was he ordained in the Episcopal grade by the holy lord Germanus. For the others were that Palladius archdeacon of Pope Celestine, of the city, who then held the Apostolic See, being forty-fifth from the holy Apostle Peter, that Palladius, to wit, had been ordained by the holy Pope, and sent to convert this island lying under Roman cold.§ But God hindered him, for no man can receive from earth unless it had been given him from heaven. For neither do the in-bringing(?) and uncouth easily receive his teaching, nor also did he wish to pass that long time in a land not his own: || but while he returned unto him who sent him, after passing the first sea, he ended his life in the coasts of the Picts.

‘8. Of the ordination of Patrick by Amathus, King and Bishop.

‘When therefore they had heard of the death of holy Paladius¶ among the Britains, for the disciples of Paladius, Augustine and Benedict, and the others, brought news in Curbia concerning his death, Patrick and they that were with him turned out of the way unto a certain marvellous man, a chief Bishop, King Amatho by name (*Amatho regem nomine?* *Amathorez* by name) who was dwelling in a place hard by; and therefore holy Patrick, knowing the things which were to come unto

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\* The Armagh Codex is much better—‘and fish with the Gospel net for the fierce,’ &c.

† Sic.

‡ The Armagh reading seems infinitely preferable—‘unto the work for which he had of old time been prepared, that is, [the work] of the Gospel, and Germanus sent an elder with him, that is, Segitius the Priest, that he might have a comrade with him for a witness,’ &c.

§ The above sentence, as compared with the Armagh Codex, bears all the signs of having been written to dictation by a person who did not understand Latin. The Armagh gives, ‘For it was certain (*certe enim erat* for *ceteri enim erant*), &c.—Bishop of the city of Rome—ordained and sent—wintry cold (*brumali* for *romani*).’

|| Here again common sense favours the Armagh—‘For neither did these fierce (*feri* for *inferientes*) and uncouth men easily receive his teaching, &c.’ That *transgere* (both MSS.) is a slip of the pen for *transigere* may perhaps be assumed. Armagh gives Britons instead of Picts.

¶ With one l in this chapter.

him, received the episcopal step from King Amathus (*Amatho rege? Amathorex*) the holy Bishop. But also Auxilius and Sanninus and the other lower steps were ordained on the same day [as] holy Patrick. Then when blessings had been given and all had been perfect according to custom, and there had been sung [by] Patrick as specially and suitably this verse of the Psalmist: *Thou art a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchi*,—the venerable traveller taketh in the name of the Holy Trinity the ship prepared for him, and cometh even unto Britain, and omitting all circuitous routes of walking except the office of the common way . . . \* he reacheth our sea with a prosperous journey.'

The first emotion of the student on reading the above will probably be a feeling of amazement, followed perchance by an emotion of vindictive joy, at the disappearance of his old enemy *Eboria*. Not only, however, does the Brussels Codex read *Curbia* where the Armagh gives *Ebморia*, but we now learn that the scribe of the Armagh Codex himself has marked *Ebморia* with the sign Z, indicating a doubtful reading. Can it be possible, after all, that this geographical will-o'-the-wisp, which has eluded the researches of so many students, consumed so much time, and caused so much temper, never existed at all except in a *lapsus calami*? It is not necessary here to enter upon the subject, or to touch the feast for the historical controversialist which *Curbia* will no doubt henceforth afford.

The passage of Tirechan's *Collectanea* which refers to the same period is as follows:—

'I have found four names written in the book to Patrick, with Bishop Ultan, Conchuburnensius—holy *Magonus*, which is clear; *Succetus*, which is Patrick; *Cothirthiacus*, for he served four houses of magi. And one of them, the magus whose name was *Miliuc Mac Cuboin*, bought him, and he served him for seven years in all servitude and double labour, and he put him for a swineherd in the glens of the mountains. But at last the Angel of the Lord visited him in dreams upon the peaks of Mount *Scirte*, near Mount *Miss*. But when the speech of the Angel was finished: *Behold, thy ship is ready, arise and walk*,—and he went away from him into heaven,—he arose and walked, as the Angel of the Lord, Victor by name, said unto him. In the seventeenth year of his age was he captured, brought, sold into Ireland. In the twenty-second year [of his age] he was

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\* There is here a clause which seems unintelligible in both Codices. Brussels—*Nemo itaque desideria querit Dominum*. Armagh—*Nemo enim dissidia querit Dominum*.

able to leave the work of the magus. Seven other years did he walk and voyage amid the waves, amid country places, and mountain glens through the Gauls and all Italy and in the islands which are in the Tyrrhenian sea, as he himself said in the memorial of his labours. And he was in one of the islands which is called *Aralanensis*,\* for thirty years, as Bishop Ultan testifies unto me. But all the things which came to pass ye will find written in his full (*plana*) history. These are his latest wonders, finished and happily wrought in the fifth year of the reign of Loiguire m Neill. Now, from the passion of Christ unto the death of Patrick are reckoned four hundred and thirty-six† years. And Loiguire reigned two or five years after the death of Patrick. And the time of all his reign was thirty-six years, as we think.'

Before proceeding to compare these narratives with what we are told by Patrick himself, it is as well to take a glance at the known chronology of Germanus of Auxerre. He was consecrated to the See of Auxerre on July 7, 418, and died at Ravenna on July 31, 448, having held his See thirty years and twenty-five days. The statement of Maccumachtheni, that Patrick studied under him for forty or thirty years, may therefore be at once dismissed, for the career of Germanus before becoming a Bishop was not that of a teacher. Fr. Hogan appears to consider that the *Aralanensis* of Tirechan is a mistake for *Alsiodorensis*, and thus identifying the sojourns spoken of by Maccumachtheni and Tirechan respectively, ingeniously suggests for the 'xxx.' of the latter the conjectural emendation 'xx.' If the chronology of Tirechan be accepted with this emendation, Patrick must have been about forty-nine years of age at the time of his coming to Ireland. Now, he himself says (as will appear presently) that before his consecration some of his elders found against him, after thirty years, a fault which he had committed when he was about fifteen years of age. Consequently, he was then at least forty-five. These statements are really harmonious, for 'after thirty years' may well be a round way of stating a number somewhat above thirty; and, on the other hand, it is clear that Tirechan does not reckon whole periods of twelve months each when he speaks of years, and probably his rows of x's are also round

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\* Possibly meant for *Arles*—*Arelatensis*.

† Perhaps not *six* but *three*.

numbers. To go farther than this, here, would be to plunge into the vortex of the chronological controversy. It will therefore suffice to point out the entire inconsistency of the statements here made by Tirechan with that made by him and Maccumachtheni elsewhere, to the effect that Patrick attained the age of 120 years. That these authors laboured under the error of believing that the Passion of Christ took place in the year A.D. 34, may be assumed as a moral certainty; consequently they must be understood to place the death of M'Calphurn about A.D. 470. If he was 120 years old at that time, he must have been born about 350, and arrived in Ireland about the close of the Fourth Century—some twenty years before the consecration of Germanus, under whom he is said to have previously studied for so many years. The fact is, that the age of 120, whether based on a copyist's slip of the pen or upon anything else, has become one of the imaginary features by which a later age endeavoured to fix upon the career of M'Calphurn a variety of circumstances identical with those of the life of Moses, and which is here found in juxtaposition, and glaring contradiction, with the remains of a tradition earlier and truer, albeit probably somewhat corrupted. The same remark applies to the alleged mission of Patrick by Pope Celestine. That Pope died August 1, 432. If, therefore, Patrick commenced his studies under Germanus in the very year of the latter's consecration (which is highly improbable), and remained with him, not forty, nor thirty, nor even twenty, but only fifteen years, he must have been there beyond the time of that Pope's death. The Celestine idea is therefore hopelessly inconsistent with the chronology of both Maccumachtheni and Tirechan, and they no more allude to it than Patrick does himself.\*

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\* The penultimate paragraph of the *Collectanea*, before the *Additamenta*, (p. 89 of the edition before us) is as follows :—' In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Teothasius (*sic*) by Celestine the Bishop, the Pope of Rome, is a Bishop Patrick sent (*Patricius episcopus mittitur*) for the teaching of the Scots. This Celestine was the forty-seventh Bishop from the Apostle Peter in the city of Rome. Bishop Paladius is sent first, who was called Patrick by another name, who suffered martyrdom among the Scots, as the



Let the reader now turn from these, which seem the earliest records of Patrick M'Calphurn now known, of a later period than his own, and see what he himself says of the same part of his career.

The *Confession* of Patrick is a composition instinct with a beauty so noble and so touching, that for any man to read it without a certain amount of emotion would be a proof of his own low intellectual organism. But this work, in the truest sense sublime, presents the gravest difficulties to the cold eye of merely historical criticism. It is true that the grounds upon which its authenticity has been questioned are so flimsy as to be almost absurd, and no hesitation can be felt in accepting the all-but universal recognition of its genuineness on the part of the learned. It is evident therefore that this work (together with such historical statements as occur in the equally undoubtedly genuine *Epistle* to the subjects of Coroticus) must be taken as the absolute standard of truth in any biography of this Patrick. The same supernatural importance which he attaches to his dreams may not be ascribed to them; but of his perfect honesty in stating them, and consequently of the fact of their occurrence, there can be no doubt. Whatever statement is to be found in the *Confession* and *Epistle* is true; whatever statement is opposed to them is false, at least as relating to M'Calphurn; whatever statement is neither in nor opposed to them must be examined on other grounds. It is in the text of the *Confession* itself that the difficulties commence.

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holy elders hand down. Then Patrick the second is sent by an Angel of God, named Victor, and by Pope Celestine, in whom all Ireland believed, who baptised nearly all of her.' It is clear that contradictories cannot both express the opinion of Tirechan, and either this or the body of the work must be discredited. On several grounds the present writer cannot consider that the above isolated and contradictory paragraph can be anything but a later interpolation; he thinks it possible, however, that it may be itself in a corrupt form, and that the italicised words '*and by Pope Celestine*' have been inserted either by a slip of the pen or by a wilful emendation on the part of the scribe, the general tone of the passage being to draw a distinction between the first Patrick, who was sent by man and failed, and the second Patrick, who was sent by an Angel of God and succeeded.

The number of variants, to begin with, is evident by glancing at a page of Villanueva's edition; and many of them are very serious. If, however, even this were cleared away, the language itself is very hard to understand. M'Calphurn does not seem to have been a man of high literary culture; he describes himself (*Con. i., 1.*) as *rusticissimus*, and, in his *Epistle* to the subjects of Coroticus (1), the genuineness of which is as certain as that of the *Confession*, distinctly states that he was *indoctus*. He says (*Con. i. 3.*) that the habitual use of another language had impaired his facility in Latin, such as it was. The language of his writings simply bears out this description. It becomes sometimes a matter of little better than guess-work to make out what was the idea which he wished to express. Hereby also arises the doubt whether the rules of interpretation which are applicable to a classical composition can be safely used to language of this sort. Even, however, if the text of the *Confession* were absolutely certain and couched in the most lucid Latinity, its form would be very difficult. The intention of the author seems to have been to write a kind of autobiography, somewhat in the style of Augustine, in which the dealings of God with him should be made the subject of thankful acknowledgment, as a debt of gratitude on his own part as well as a source of edification to others. This intention is more or less perfectly preserved in the opening paragraph of the First Chapter, and throughout the whole of the Second. In the Third Chapter the autobiographical style is largely departed from, and the tone becomes declamatory when speaking of the falseness of the friend by whom he was betrayed. The Fourth and Fifth Chapters are purely declamatory, and only contain historical matter incidentally. The following is a literal translation of the whole of the autobiographical part, including the Third Chapter:—

'I.—1. I, Patrick, that most clownish sinner (*peccator rusticissimus*), and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible among multitudes, had for a father the Deacon Calpornius, the son of the late Priest Potitus: who was of the village of Benaven Taberniæ, for he had the farm [of Enon] near by, where I fell into captivity. I was then nearly sixteen years of age.

For I knew not the true God ; and I was brought into Ireland in captivity, with so many thousand men, according to our deserts ; for we fell away from God, and kept not His commandments, and were disobedient unto our Priests (*sacerdotibus*), who warned [us for] our salvation : and the Lord brought upon us the wrath of His indignation, and scattered us among many nations, even unto the end of the earth, where now my littleness is seen to be among aliens. And there the Lord opened the understanding of the unbelief of mine heart, that even late as it was I might call to mind mine offences, and turn me with all mine heart unto my Lord, Who looked upon my lowliness, and had compassion upon my youth and mine ignorance, [and] kept me, before I knew Him, and before I tasted or distinguished between the good and the evil, and admonished me, and comforted me, as a father [comforteth] his son.'

The style then becomes declamatory, containing the celebrated passage in the form of a Profession of Faith, commonly known as the Creed of St. Patrick. With the beginning of the Second Chapter, however, the autobiographical matter is gradually resumed—

'II.—6. And so it behoveth to distinguish those things which are of loyalty toward the Trinity (*quae fidei Trinitatis sunt*), and without blame of danger to make known the gift of God, and His eternal consolation, and without fear to spread God's name faithfully everywhere, and to leave [the same] even after my death unto my brethren and sons, whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousand men—albeit I was not worthy, nor such an one that the Lord should grant this unto His servant, and give him so great a grace, after griefs of such burden, after captivity, after many years in that nation, which [thing] I never once hoped for in my youth nor thought of. But after I came to Ireland I fed flocks every day, and I prayed often in the day, and more and more did the love of God come to me, and the fear of Him and faith increased, and the Spirit increased, so that in one day I would make as many as an hundred prayers, and in the night well nigh likewise : and I abode even in the woods and in the mountain, and I was roused up to prayer before the light, in snow, in frost, in rain, and I felt no evil, neither was there any sloth in me, [such] as I see now : for then the Spirit glowed in me. And there certainly one night in sleep I heard a voice saying unto me : Thou fastest well, [thou art] soon about to go to thy fatherland. And a second time after a very little while I heard an answer saying unto me : Behold, thy ship is ready. And it was not near, but perchance it was two hundred miles away, and I had never been there neither did I know any man there.

'7. And then afterwards I turned to fly : and I left the man with whom I had been for six years : and in the strength of God, Who directed my

faith, I came unto Benum : \* and I feared nothing, until I came unto that ship. And as soon as I came unto her, she went forward from her place, and I spake that I might have whence to voyage.† But it displeased the Captain, and he answered sharply with anger : Thou needest not to seek to go with us. And when I heard these words, I parted from them, to come unto the hut where I was lodging : and on the way I began to pray : and before I finished the prayer, I heard one of them cry lustily after me : Come quick, for these men call thee : and forthwith I returned unto them : and they began to say unto me : Come, for we receive thee of faith, ‡ and make friendship with us as thou shalt will. And in that day I had to arise into their ship for God's sake. Nevertheless, I hoped [not] of them that they would say unto me : Come in Christ's faith : for they were Gentiles ; and this I obtained with them ; and straightway we set forth on the voyage.

‘ 8. And after three days we landed ; and we travelled through a desert for seven-and-twenty days. But food and drink failed us, and famine waxed strong upon us. And another day the Captain began to say unto me : What is it, O thou Christian ? Thou sayest, thy God is great and almighty ; why therefore canst thou not pray for us ? Pray for us, for we are imperilled with hunger, for it is hardly that we should ever see a man. But I said unto them openly : Turn ye with all your heart unto the Lord my God, for nothing is impossible with Him, that He send us food into our way this day, until ye be filled, for He hath abundance everywhere. Therefore, by God's help, it was so.

‘ Behold, an herd of swine came before our eyes in the way, and they killed many of them : and there they abode two nights well refreshed, and were relieved with their flesh, for many of them failed and were left half-dead beside the way. And after this they rendered the highest thanks to God, and I was made honourable in their eyes.

‘ 9. But from that day they had food in abundance : moreover they found wild honey, and brought a portion unto me, and one of them said : This hath been offered §—Thanks be to God, thenceforth I tasted nothing. But the same night I was sleeping, and Satan vehemently tried me, so that I shall remember it as long as I am in this body. For there fell upon me as it were an huge rock, and it took away the strength from all my limbs. But whence it came, I know not, that I should call in spirit upon Elias. ||

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\* Villanueva understands the Boyne to be meant.

† The meaning seems to be that he could not pay for his passage. He perhaps told them that he had relations in Britain who would pay for him on his arrival.

‡ *Ex fide*, viz. in trust on his promise of future payment.

§ i.e., to idols.

|| There are three opinions as to this exclamation ; (1) that he called on the Prophet Elias, as given here, in Maccumachtheni, and in all the later

And with that I saw the sun rise in the sky ; and while I cried, Elias, Elias, with all my strength, behold, the brightness of the sun fell upon me and straightway took away all the heaviness from me. And I believe that I was holpen by my Christ, and that His Spirit then cried out for me : but I hope that it will be so in the day of my distress, as the Lord witnesseth in the Gospel : In that day, saith He, it is not ye that speak but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh in you. But He provided food and fire for us in our journey, and dryness every day, until upon the fourteenth day we came unto men : as I have mentioned above, we journeyed through the desert for eight-and-twenty days, and that night we all came [unto men] we had no food [left].

'III.—10. And a second time, after many years,\* I fell again into captivity ; and the first night I abode with them. But I heard an answer from God, saying unto me : Two months shalt thou be with them. And it was so. Upon that sixtieth night, therefore, did the Lord deliver me out of their hands. A second time,† after a few years, I was in the Britains with my kinsfolk,‡ who received me as a son, and sincerely besought me, that now at any rate after so great tribulations which I bare, I would never leave them. And there certainly I saw in a night vision a man coming, as it were from Ireland, Victricius by name, with countless epistles ; and he gave one of them unto me ; and thereupon (*continenter*) I read the beginning of the Epistle : The Voice of the Irish. And when I read aloud (*recita-*

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lives but two ; (2) that he exclaimed, 'My God !' in Hebrew ('Eli') as given in two of the later lives, a view supported on the ground that *El* is a title used in the *Hymn of Hilary to Christ*, which is perhaps older than Patrick's time, and that this cry here is specially attributed to the Spirit of Christ, Who is recorded in the Gospels to have uttered this very ejaculation ; (3) founded on the context, that M'Calphurn invoked the sun (*Helios*) in Greek. This last idea, at any rate, seems hard to reconcile with the noble passage upon the worship of the sun with which the last paragraph of the *Confession* opens.

\* Villanueva prints a 'not' in brackets () before 'many', but this appears to be merely a fancy emendation. It is not only opposed to the narrative, which requires us to divide a period of some twenty-three years between the period mentioned here and that of 'a few' years mentioned just after, but also to the corresponding passage in *Maccumachtheni*, which seems to be a quotation.

† This seems to imply that he had returned there from captivity before.

‡ *Parentes*. This is hardly ever used, at least in classical Latin, like the French *parent*, to indicate any relation except in the direct ascending line. Yet it seems doubtful whether his grandparents are meant, considering his own age. It seems clearly implied that they were not his actual parents. He uses the word again (iv. 19.) writing at the very close of life and speaking of living persons.

bam) the beginning of the Epistle, I thought that at that very moment I heard the voices of them that were near the wood Foclut, which is hard by the Western Sea. And thus they called out, as it were with one mouth : We beseech thee, holy lad,\* come and walk still among us. And I was greatly pricked in the heart, and could read no more : and so I awoke. Thanks be to God that, after very many years, the Lord hath granted unto them according to their cry.

'11. And another night, I know not, God knoweth, whether it were in me or beside me, I heard some singing by the spirit inside me, in very learned (*peritissimis*) words, and I knew not who they were whom I heard, and I could not understand except at the end of the prayer he said thus : He who gave his life for thee. And so I woke up. And a second time I heard him praying in me ; and he was as it were inside my body : and I heard above me, that is, above mine inner man, and there he was praying vehemently with groanings. And at these things I was astonished, and marvelled, and thought who it could be that was praying in me. But at the end of the prayer, he said that he was the Spirit.† And I remembered the Apostle saying : The Spirit helpeth the infirmity of our prayer ; for we know not what we should pray for ; but the Spirit Itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, which I cannot express in words. And again : The Lord is our advocate, and He maketh intercession for us. And when I was tempted by some of my elders, who came, on account of my sins, against my toilful Episcopate, sometimes in that day I was vehemently inclined, to fall here and for ever. But the Lord spared the convert and pilgrim for His Name's sake, and came to help me very mercifully in that treading under foot, [so] I came not badly into disgrace and shame. I pray God that the occasion be not imputed unto them for sin. For after thirty years they found a thing against me which I had confessed before I was a Deacon.

'12. On account of anxiety I whispered with a sad heart to my dearest friend the things which I had done in my boyhood one day, yea, in one hour, for I was not yet strong. I know not, God knoweth, if I was then fifteen years of age, and I did not believe in one ‡ God from mine infancy ; but I remained in death and in unbelief, until I was greatly chastened ; and in truth I was brought low with hunger and nakedness ; and day by day I went forth against my will in Ireland until I all but fainted. But this rather was well for me ; for by this I was amended by the Lord, and

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\* *Puer*. This must mean that he had been a lad when they had seen him last, for the term is not applicable after 'many years,' and then 'a few years' more after the age of twenty-two.

† It is perhaps hardly worth while to mention the ridiculous variant of *episcopum* for *spiritum*, probably arising from the mistake of some antient blunderer between *epm* and *spm*.

‡ Or, the living God.



he fitted me to be this day what once was far from me, that I should have cares or labour for the salvation of others, when I was not thinking even about myself. Wherefore in that day wherein I was rebuked by them whom I have mentioned above, that night in a night vision I saw written over against my face, *Without honour*. And with that I heard an answer from God saying unto me : We have looked ill upon the face of ——— (plainly designated by name).\* Neither did He say thus : Thou hast looked ill, but, We have looked ill, as if He joined Himself there, as He said : He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of Mine eye. Wherefore I give thanks unto Him Who hath strengthened me in all things, so that He hindered me not from my going forth, which I had appointed, and for my work also, which I had learned from my Christ : but the more, from that, I felt in me no little strength, and my faith hath been approved before God and men.

'13. Whence I say boldly, my conscience reproveth me not. I have God for my witness that I have not lied in the things which I have told : but I grieve rather for my dearest friend, why we deserved to have such an answer, unto whom I entrusted even my soul. And I heard from some of my brethren before that defence,† because I myself was not present [on the occasion], neither was I [dwelling] in the Britains [at the time], neither shall it arise from me, that he also should be beaten in my absence on my account. He with his own mouth had said : Behold, thou art to be promoted unto the step of the Episcopate, whereof I was not worthy. But whence came it unto him afterwards to expose publicly against me before all, good and bad, what he had before forgiven willingly and gladly ? It is the Lord Who is greater than all. I say enough. But nevertheless I ought not to hide the gift of God which He granted unto me in the land

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\* Who this person was, whose name Patrick conceals, does not seem very clear. At one time the present writer believed that it must be meant to indicate Palladius, whose labours had met with such scant blessing from God or acceptance from men, but whom Patrick was almost certain to have regarded with great tenderness, delicacy, and respect, so as to be unwilling to allude openly to his failure. On repeated consideration, however, he is inclined to think that the person indicated must be the friend by whom Patrick had been betrayed ; that Patrick took the 'we' to mean God Almighty and himself, and regarded the dream as an indication of the Divine displeasure at the way in which he had been publicly held up to disgrace ; and that he conceals the name for fear of getting the offender into trouble, as he afterwards says, 'Neither shall it arise from me that he be beaten.'

†*Defensionem*. In classical Latin this means a *defence*, as translated, but Villanueva inclines to the opinion that it had already obtained in Gaul the sense of the modern French *defense*,—viz. : 'a prohibition,' and proposes here to take it so.

of my captivity. For then did I vehemently seek Him, and there did I find Him, and He kept me from all iniquities by His indwelling Spirit, Who hath wrought in me even unto this day. But the Lord knoweth, if I had heard these things from a man, perchance I had been silent for the love of Christ.

'14. Whence I will give unwearied thanks unto my God, Who kept me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that this day I confidently offer sacrifice unto Him, and consecrate my soul as a living victim unto my Lord, Who hath saved me from all my straits, that I may say unto him : Who am I, Lord ? And what are my prayers, O Thou Who hast revealed unto me so much [of thy] Divine [glory] ? So that this day I should exalt and magnify Thy Name in what place soever I be ; and not only in things favourable, but also in tribulations ; that whatsoever befalleth me, be it good, be it evil, I am equally bound to accept it, and always to give thanks to God, Who hath shown unto me that I should never cease to believe that He is beyond all doubt, and Who will have heard me ; that I also in [these] last days should dare to take in hand this work so godly and so wondrous, so that I should imitate them whom the Lord foretold of old time, that they should preach His Gospel for a testimony unto all nations before the end of the world. Which is fulfilled, even as we have seen. Behold, we are witnesses that the Gospel hath been preached everywhere, [in a place] beyond which there is no man.'

In comparing the above unaffected narrative with the statements of its author's earliest biographers, it is peculiarly interesting to observe in the latter the development of the historical matter in a middle stage, between his own simple account on the one hand, and the full-blown romances of the later writers on the other. The very name of Calphurn's domicile is not a bad specimen of the process. '*Benaven Tabernie*,' says Patrick. These two simple words, which are generally admitted to mean *River-head Tavern*, seem to be the origin of the four—'*Ban navem thabur indecha*'—in Maccu-machtheni ; and the two central of these (*navem thabur*) in their turn, appear to be the origin of the curious name in the first line of the hymn ascribed to Fiacc,—

'Patrick was born in *Nemthur*.'

The most interesting instance is perhaps that of the dream-visitant. Whether the 'Angel Victor' ever had any other origin than the 'man coming, as it were, from Ireland, Victricius by name,' is a question which it is unnecessary

here to discuss; that they became identified in later belief, is certain. In Maccumachtheni the identification appears in an imperfect stage. When Patrick says that he dreamt that he 'saw in a night vision a man coming, as it were, from Ireland, Victricius by name,' the natural meaning is that this Victricius of whom he dreamt was a particular man whom he had known in Ireland, probably a native Christian; that such were by no means very few, is evident from the fact—among others,—that Palladius was sent as a Bishop for them,—*ad Scotos in Christum credentes*. In Maccumachtheni the mere words, 'heard in sleep,' as to his fasting well, and so on, are transferred into visitations by Victorius, with a statement that these visitations were frequent, both at that time and at that of the dream about the Epistles from the Irish. The personage himself is in a state of transformation, as if Maccumachtheni were uncertain whether to make him the same person as the 'Angel Victor' of the latter part of his own narrative, or not. He accordingly designates him by terms of either meaning,—'the angelic Victorius sent to him from God,' and 'that right faithful elder called Victorius, who had said all things unto him when he was in captivity in Ireland, before that they were.' *Elder* is certainly an hardly consistent designation for an angel, a being exempted by his very nature from experiencing the effects of time.

Perhaps the most singular discrepancy between Patrick and his biographer is one in connection with the dream about this man Victricius and the epistles. Patrick says it took place in the Britains,—'I was in the Britains with my kinsfolk . . . and there certainly I saw, etc.' Maccumachtheni gives him the lie direct,—'When many times were passed there [at Alsiodorum] . . . Victorius . . . visited him, saying, etc,' and accordingly he starts and comes over, 'even unto Britain,' or, as the Armagh text has it, 'the Britains.' The reason of a course on the part of Maccumachtheni so extraordinary as flatly contradicting Patrick himself is hard to explain, unless upon the ground of some legend having already arisen, to which he attached more importance than to the plain evidence of his own senses.

Another remarkable feature is the appearance of the Mosaic comparison with regard to the journey in the desert. This not only appears in the grotesque comparison between pigs and quails, with its grim explanation by the degradation of the Gentiles beneath Israelites, but in the violent attempt to parallelize Patrick's abstention with the fast of Moses upon Mount Sinai: that it was only the honey he abstained from is plain enough from his own words, as well as from the obvious fact that if he had not eaten the pork (doubtless wretchedly cooked), he would not have had the night-mare which made such an impression upon him.

It is greatly to be regretted that the line of writing into which Patrick has fallen affords us so very little information as to his career, between his escape from Ireland and his return as her Apostle. It appears evident that he was out of the Britains for some years, but it does not clearly appear whether this absence was before or after his second captivity, or both. Maccumachtheni distinctly states that he went from Ireland to the Britains in the ship, and the same may be implied from McCalphurn's own expression, that at a later period he had returned home to his relations 'a second time.' Maccumachtheni also clearly implies that he did not go abroad until after the second captivity. If this be so, the period of his foreign residence is described by Patrick himself as comprised within 'a few years,' which leaves no time for the protracted study under Germanus. 'Few' can hardly mean more than three or four. As to the place of his foreign residence, it will be observed that Maccumachtheni says that he started to go to Italy, but never got farther than Alsiodorum; Tirechan, on the contrary, gives us an early indication of those alleged travels about the Mediterranean of which the later lives contain so much. That Patrick was actually in Gaul, and was on friendly terms with ecclesiastics there, is sufficiently plain from the *Confession*, iv. 19. 'I am able, if I would, to leave [the hand-maidens of the Lord in Ireland], and to go unto the Britains, yea, (?) I would be most cheerfully ready to go, as unto my fatherland and kinsfolk: and not that only, but even unto the Gauls, to visit my brethren, to see the face of the Saints of

my Lord: the Lord knoweth that I greatly desired it.' That he sat at the feet of Germanus is all the more probable because that Saint was much occupied in the ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, whither he was first sent by Pope Celestine in 429. At what period Patrick mentioned his youthful error to his dishonourable friend does not appear. What is clear is that there had already been some mention between them of Patrick's promotion to the Episcopate, before this friend, during Patrick's absence from Britain, there divulged his confidence. In consequence of this, some of his elders came and cast his fault in his teeth, to dissuade him from taking the Episcopate, and thereupon he had the dream about the man unnamed. But where did these elders come from, and to? The two dreams regarding Victricius and the Spirit praying within are stated by Patrick to have taken place in Britain, and they seem to have been what gave him the idea of going to Ireland. Are we to understand that he thereupon confidentially consulted his friend, who encouraged him in the idea of seeking the position of a missionary Bishop, and that he thereupon went abroad again (Query—to seek Germanus' sanction?) and returned for consecration,\* to find his fault betrayed to those who came to it? Such questions form some of the most interesting points of what has become the Patrician controversy. It need only be observed here, in the first place, that if Patrick only went abroad after his second captivity, a 'few' years before his promotion to the Episcopate, he must have been more than thirty, the age assigned him by Maccumachtheni, since he was, on his own showing, at least forty-five at his consecration. He was twenty-two at the time of his escape from his first captivity, and this leaves ample time for the 'many years' which passed before the second. In the second place, there are only three courses which can be taken

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\* That M'Calphurn's consecration took place in Britain is the opinion of the Rev. J. F. Shearman (*Loca Patriciana*, p. 447), but though this is perhaps the most natural inference from the language of the *Confession*, it can hardly be regarded as the only possible one.

with the Amathus\*-Curbia-or-Ebmorea story; it must either be adapted to M'Calphurn's *Confession*, or fixed, *mutatis mutandis*, upon somebody else, or abandoned as a pure fiction.

It will be seen that the tendency of this new matter is, on the one hand, to support the theory of the Bollandists, to the effect that Patrick's death took place a good deal earlier than the date commonly assigned to it. They of course reject the age of 120, and, by supposing the c. in cxxxii. (which occupies the place of cxx. in some texts) to be a blunder for l., suggest the age of 82. If so, and he died about 470, he must have gone to Ireland some time after 433. It may, however, be suggested that if it is to be allowed to turn c. conjecturally into l. in cxxxii., it is equally easy to do so in the much better supported cxx., and read lxx. This would make Patrick just as old as the century, and consequently send him to Ireland after 455. It is true that an argument to imply a *very* long residence in Ireland has been found in the expression of the Epistle,—‘an holy Priest whom I have taught from infancy,’ but those who adduce this argument fail to observe that Patrick does not say *where* he taught him, and it is indeed by no means improbable, since the Priest in question was selected to be sent upon a particularly ticklish mission into Britain, that he was a Briton trained by Patrick from any period after the first captivity, and who had accompanied him to Ireland,—Iserninus, perhaps. These texts are also generally favourable to the sort of chronology as to the date of Patrick's arrival in Ireland, indicated by the late Dr. Todd in his *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*. They must prove in any case an heavy, if not a fatal blow, to the school who credit M'Calphurn with a mission from Pope Celestine.

This publication is perhaps, with the single exception of Villanueva's edition of the *Epistle* and the *Confession*, the most valuable which has ever appeared upon the subject upon

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\* The custom of calling this (possibly fabulous) person *Amathorex* is so well established that the writer feels some trepidation in departing from it, but the *rex* appears as a title separate from the name in both the Armagh and the Brussels Codices.



which it casts so much light. It is itself a model of the way in which such work ought to be done. And henceforth nothing with any pretensions to value can be written concerning the Apostle of Ireland without consulting it.

[Since the above was finished, we have privately learnt, with the utmost satisfaction, that the *Confessio* and *Liber Angeli* may be expected soon to appear, edited by the same hand as the *Vita*.]

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#### ART. IV.—THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH CLERGY.

AMONG those wise sayings which bored youth is required to repeat *ad nauseam* in copy books, until one feels that human nature must revenge itself by a special delight in perpetrating that particular folly or wickedness at which they aim, we remember often to have seen the sententious declaration that ‘Comparisons are odious things.’ Nor does our memory fail to recall instances where we have heard that same maxim promptly applied as an extinguisher to a light which seemed likely to make manifest some extremely self-satisfied person on the wrong side of a comparison. Could any maxim more aptly illustrate the natural tendency of human beings to go on saying a thing because it has once been said? For must it not be apparent to every one a few degrees removed from idiocy that careful and critical comparing is a most important factor in progress and improvement of every sort?—that any odiousness therein is solely dependent upon its being instituted in a spirit of envy, malice, or blind partizanship? Against this trite saying it is our deliberate intention now to run a tilt, by comparing in some measure the different systems of the Churches of Scotland and England, ‘as by law established.’

Those who have read in the April number of the *Scottish Review* the very able second paper entitled ‘Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,’ will, if they did not know it before, have learned one thing regarding the Church of Scotland—namely, that those

who do not wish to supply a new reading of the maxim we have quoted, by showing that comparisons are odious in their tendency to throw a baleful gleam on the oftentimes profound ignorance of the comparer, had better avoid any such process until they have gone through a deep and careful course of study in the history of that Church.

A comprehensive comparison between two Churches is, however, a very different thing from comparing their ordinary system of procedure on certain incidental points, especially where matters more of custom than of distinctly laid down regulation are in question. And this is the extreme limit of our present purpose. The tone of the article above-mentioned appears to us to be distinctly apologetic. The writer tacitly admits the Church of Scotland not to be altogether what he would like to see her; and while speaking of her clergy as having, during the eighteenth century, fallen from the lofty position they had held for a hundred and fifty years, we do not find any expression of an opinion that they have risen again. With this question, in all its bearings, we have neither the ability nor the inclination to grapple; but there seems to us to be certainly one branch of Church work in which any intelligent observer, who has opportunities of judging, may see that the clergy of the Church of Scotland might with advantage consider a little the methods of their English brethren.

That is to say, we think the time has fully come when they should begin to do so. Speaking with the diffidence becoming a writer not deeply versed in the historical aspects of the case, we think we shall not be far wrong in holding the Church of Scotland to have been, from the time of the Reformation on to the date of the abolition of patronage, in very deed and truth a Church militant—a Church constantly contending against determined and powerful enemies. If so, the mild charge we would gladly bring against her ministers is groundless as to the past. In spiritual, as in temporal kingdoms, war and social progress are absolutely incompatible. But with stable peace comes the opportunity for energetic development of internal resources; and it is here we think the Church of Scotland is lagging a little behind, not, in some respects, following her English sister, in her wonderful

revival of the last fifty years, with the rapid strides befitting the Church of a nation whom no less an authority than Mr. Froude has classed with the Jews and Greeks in the extent of its influence on the history of the world. Would that the fate of our National Church, some fifty years since, had been such a revival as that which the mere name of Froude suggests to the memory, instead of a disruption. What would not the Church of Scotland have been now, in power, and influence for good?

In order to arrive at a correct judgment on the question we raise, it is necessary to bear in mind that every Church—we use the term exclusively in the sense of any regularly organised and maintained Christian community—has two distinct spheres of action, inseparably connected together, and yet sufficiently independent to have come into collision very early in the history of the Christian Church. The Apostles were not slow to obey the command of their ascended Lord—‘Go ye unto all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.’ And what were the immediate results? Not apparently correct doctrinal views on the subject of justification by faith, or the exact nature and working of the Sacraments, but the sudden expansion into full bloom of the great social principle of Christianity—the principle of universal brotherhood—of true and genuine communism—the joyful sharing of everything with those who have not, in opposition to forcible spoliation of those who have. Hence followed that difficulty about the serving of tables recorded so early in the Acts of the Apostles. ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.’ But how is that love to bear any practical fruit, when a frail, perishing mortal is called upon to manifest it towards an omnipotent immortal Being? The answer comes from the same Divine lips which gave the command itself—‘Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.’ In that one brief sentence lies the source of what we may venture to call the social system of the Churches; that system which, not merely as a Christian doctrine, but as a fact of everyday life, asserts the principle of universal brotherhood, making the moral welfare and material comfort of each the concern of all, and joy and sorrow common, not individual property. The words used in the

English service for the ordering of Priests, briefly state the direct commission delivered, in whatever form of words, to every ordained minister of any of the Churches. 'Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the holy Sacraments, in the congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.' That is the distinctly and exclusively ministerial work laid upon every ordained minister; but the more earnestly and zealously he devotes himself to it, the more certainly will the social system which will grow out of it claim his time and attention.

With the exclusively ministerial work of the Clergy, the preaching of the Word, administering of Sacraments, or other distinctively religious work, we are not now concerned; though in passing we will venture on one assertion, which we think no candid and competent judge will dispute. Putting, of course, out of the question any comparison between specially eloquent and gifted preachers, on both sides, we have little hesitation in pronouncing the *average level* of preaching in Scotland to be above that of England. Rather too doctrinal, and sometimes a little too long for English taste, Scottish sermons are apt to be; but we think even the, perhaps, slightly bored English listener, if unprejudiced, will admit, that in general, they would carry the palm, both for ability, and evidence of careful preparation.

In the discharge of this direct commission, every Church must be held to succeed or fail in exact proportion to the extent of her success or failure in keeping the ideal of religion, as so forcibly insisted upon by Principal Fairbairn, in a late number of the *Contemporary Review*, constantly in the view of her adherents; and her system of theology, form of church government and ritual, should be tested only by their fitness for this purpose, with special regard to the character, habits, and general tone of thought of the people for whose benefit they are designed. Were the fact not constantly thrust upon our notice, it would be hard to credit that such narrow bigotry could exist, as that which would insist that systems and forms must of necessity be the best for one nation, simply because they are the best for another—as well insist that the clothing suitable for the Equator, is that best suited for the North Pole. After all, too, the results of bigotry

are greatly a question of accidental circumstances. Whether a man shall thunder the bitterest invectives against organs and human hymns, and hold his soul in peril if he pray—in *public*—upon his knees; or whether he shall genuflect in marvellous millinery before a gorgeously decorated altar, is chiefly a question of latitudinal degrees. If the most advanced ritualist, now reducing his Bishop to an agony of harrassed bewilderment, had been born and reared north of the border, he might perchance have been to-day a dauntless leader of the Highland host.

To those accustomed from childhood to the ritual and general system of the Church of England, there must unquestionably always appear something chilling in the severer simplicity of Scottish Church worship. But while shallow ignorance gives vent to flippant criticisms, the more thoughtful, well-read observer, will, at least, reflect that a Church which has stood firm through all the storms and tempests which have raged around the Church of Scotland, must have deep roots in the national life, and, though he may fail to see how, have abundantly nourished the spiritual life of her members.

It is when we come to consider what we have termed the social system of the Churches, that we would venture to suggest to the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, that in many points they might improve upon their present procedure, and learn something from their English brethren. One assertion we can make with confidence; that is, that in rural districts, as a rule, the Scottish Clergy have an uncommonly easy time of it, as compared with the English Clergy—too easy it may be, for is it not notorious that the less people have to do, the greater difficulty they experience in finding time to do it? This is a difference, in some respects, in the very nature of things. The comparative scantiness of population, for instance, renders it absolutely impossible to hold the same number of services; and entire immunity is secured to a Scottish minister from the necessity, so often laid upon the English vicar in, it may be, some mere hamlet, of officiating constantly in a Church the size of which renders the services a severe strain on any man's physical powers. English marriage and funeral laws, again, throw much work upon an English vicar, which either does not fall at all, or falls

in an easier form upon the Scottish minister; while confirmations, more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion, and, in general, a more lengthened period of preparation, in the case of lately confirmed intending communicants, add very heavily to the amount of work with which the English vicar has to reckon. If we come to consider that on any day in the year the amount of exclusively professional work forced upon him *may* include a service in the church, a marriage, which must take place between the hours of eight and twelve o'clock, a funeral, which it is customary, though not imperative, that he should take at the hour most convenient to the friends attending it, a summons to baptize some child dangerously ill, to administer the Holy Communion to some dying person, and sundry visits to other sick persons, we see, at once, that the chances of his being a severely over-taxed man are much greater than those of his Scottish brother.

In addition to all these numerous calls upon his time, it must be remembered that the English vicar has no convenient body of heritors to fall back upon, for alteration, repair, or enlargement of church, churchyard, or vicarage. The sole responsibility for the maintenance of the last, rests upon his own shoulders absolutely; and if a church has to be restored or enlarged, or a desolate, ill-kept churchyard placed in creditable order, in all, save a few exceptional cases, the chief part of the labour involved in getting the improvement effected, will fall upon the vicar.

It may be that the very number and variety of these claims upon him, bringing him into constant contact with all classes of his parishioners, indirectly aid in the keeping up of that Church social system, in which the personal relations of the clergy with the parishioners under their care, must always be the keystone. It is on this point especially that we think a comparison must be in favour of England. The minister in Scotland—we are, of course, considering on both sides only the average men, not those exceptional ones who are mentally and morally a head and shoulders taller than anyone around them—is, we think, far from being to his parishioners all that the English vicar is. He does not occupy the same place in the social system of each little community. A sensible, kindly, English vicar, albeit not a man of



any specially marked ability, is the trusted friend of all classes of his parishioners; equally at home in the house of the wealthiest, or by the fire-side of the poorest of them. If two irascible squires chance to quarrel over some important question of foxes or pheasants, the first idea which suggests itself to every one who regrets the circumstances is sure to be—Cannot the vicar manage to put it right? What number of matrimonial shipwrecks the English clergy avert, or aid in rendering less ruinous than without such intervention they might be, is known only to themselves. Then when some dangerous epidemic breaks out in his parish, all eyes are turned at once to the vicar. No one for a moment doubts that it is his right and his will to stand between the dead and the living. Not merely to bring spiritual consolation to the dying, and to cheer and encourage the terror-stricken by his presence and exhortations, but personally to see that proper disinfectants are supplied to those too poor or too ignorant to provide them for themselves—to hunt up obnoxious drains, habitations unfit for human beings, over-crowded houses, and generally to lash up lazy or incompetent sanitary and other officials to their work. We remember once to have received a note from the vicar of an English rural parish, in which scarlet fever was raging, and as an excuse for a very hasty scrawl, he wrote—‘I am very tired; I have walked fifteen miles to-day, with a heavy bag of disinfectants on my back, and have visited fifty-five houses.’ If some destitute wanderer, diseased and in filthy rags, breaks down utterly on the road-side, away goes some one for the vicar. Of course it is his place to find the sufferer shelter, food, medical attendance, everything, until something can be ascertained about him. If an accident happens, as certainly as one man runs for the doctor, another will run for the vicar.

In every sort of social need or perplexity, also, the vicar’s aid is freely invoked. If a wealthy parishioner wants a tutor for his sons; if a middle-class father has sons to be apprenticed, or got into some house of business; if a labouring man has children who must early start on the toilsome road of daily labour for daily bread, the vicar’s hand is pretty sure to be in the business somewhere. And if, by any evil chance, some parishioner gets into trouble, and is likely to come within the grasp of the law,

then he will have a busy time of it. That rigid morality which demands, as a duty to society, the kicking down of all who fall, is, curiously enough, not required at the hands of the clergy. We suppose that the direct utterance of the petition—‘That it may please Thee . . . to raise up them that fall,’—is felt to create a different obligation in respect of those who do fall, from the less direct acknowledgment of complicity in the petition involved in the response—‘We beseech Thee to hear us Good Lord.’

Any unprejudiced Scottish reader must, we think, allow that the brief sketch we have given indicates a far wider field for indirect usefulness for an English vicar, than falls to the share of his Scottish brother. He has more in common with all classes ; is more a connecting link between them. And if the true aim and object of all Churches be to uphold the ideal of religion, that drawing together of all classes into one common family under one common Father, cannot fail to be a point of deep importance. The picture is not, however, absolutely without its reverse. The Apostles soon found the serving of tables a hindrance to their more specially ministerial labour, and we cannot but think that advantage in respect of sermons which we have alluded to on the side of the Church of Scotland is, to some extent, due to the greater amount of time for preparation which her ministers can easily secure. The incessant distractions, and varied claims on their time and attention, to which the English clergy are exposed, must have the result of not alone curtailing their time for the preparation of their sermons, but often of causing them to bring to the work wearied bodies and jaded minds.

Still, we think it must be allowed that the advantages of such a system override the disadvantages ; that the relations of a Scottish minister to his parishioners, being more exclusively professional, and less socially intimate, must tend injuriously to weaken his indirect influence over them. To breathe the word confessional is, we know, speaking metaphorically, to thrust our devoted head into an atmosphere darkened by a perfect storm of cutty stools. But we have never been able to blind ourselves to the fact that the loss thereof, though it saves Protestant clergymen from many dangers and evils—principally, we suspect, from

the risk of having to waste much valuable time in listening to the egotistical outpourings of morbid sickly souls, not possessing sufficient bone and muscle, if they have the will, for the commission of any well defined hearty crime—yet deprives them of a valuable means of acquiring a deep knowledge of the spiritual diseases with which they have to contend; and this more intimate association with the social life of his parishioners, must surely give, in this respect, a great advantage to the English vicar over his Scottish brother. His experience is likely to be broader and deeper; his personal influence stronger.

To what causes then are we to lay this fact? To answer this question fully would be beyond both our power and our space; it would carry us through many long pages of stormy and chequered history. It is easy, however, to indicate a few causes which must, in the nature of things, tend to produce this result. The bent of the Scottish mind on religious questions is far more towards doctrine than practice. This assertion must not be misunderstood. We do not for one moment mean to assert that the Scot does not practise his religion; but he has an innate love for deep contemplation of theological doctrines, which is quite foreign to the English mind. Hence his religion is always in danger of becoming a little tinged with selfishness. His thoughts are thus involuntarily turned more in the direction of saving himself than in that of the social virtues which should have their full share therein. Then another disadvantage under which Scottish ministers labour is that the Church of Scotland is, far less than the Church of England, the Church of the higher class. That class, the most useless probably from a political economy point of view, is very useful socially; especially so to the clergy. Its members have not kinder hearts than those of the middle or lower classes; we have a strong impression the difference would very frequently be the other way, but they have more leisure, more tact, and fewer angles. They are great strengtheners of the hands of the clergy. The powers of the English clergy for social usefulness would be greatly curtailed if the majority of the wealthy landed proprietors in their parishes held more or less coldly aloof, treating them, it may be, with kindness and courtesy, and doing their duty as land owners, but not acknowledging

them as their own individual spiritual pastors, nor cordially working with them as lay helpers. The Scottish minister is here at a disadvantage, directly or indirectly, with all classes. He is not, and is felt not to be, so powerful a champion of the poor, and them that have no helper. A Scottish parochial board, we will venture to affirm, by no means regards the prospect of rousing the minister, even if he be an able and active one, with the same feeling of gravity with which an English board of guardians reflects upon what steps an energetic vicar may take. Then with the middle class. They perhaps do not know it themselves, if they do, they will assuredly not admit it; but the fact of a man being cordially received as a friend in the houses of wealth and rank in the neighbourhood, and in those houses accorded a leading place in virtue of his office, will influence their attitude towards him.

This last suggested disadvantage almost necessarily leads on to another, which needs to be touched with a very light hand; and which, were it irremediable, would be far better not touched at all. But we feel convinced that it is not irremediable, and that it is the very one upon which the ministers of the Church of Scotland are open to some censure, in that they are not reading the signs of the times, and promptly taking possession of advantages which social changes taking place around them are throwing within their reach.

The Scottish Clergy are not in general drawn from the social class which supplies the English Clergy. This, in time past, has doubtless been an insuperable difficulty in the way of any such social Church system in Scotland, as has prevailed in England. When religion was coldly tolerated, or held in actual contempt, in the circles of the wealthy or high-born, the English vicar, who really felt the obligations of his calling, had no small advantage in being in a position to meet as his social equal the man who would have sneered contemptuously at his ministerial character. We remember to have heard an English woman, who in those days was the newly married wife of a member of a Scottish county family, and came, a total stranger to Scotland, to be introduced to her husband's relations, describe with vivid remembrance her amazement and horror when her

father-in-law apologized to her for asking the minister to dinner. The fact speaks volumes. How could any such minister be the key-stone of such a social system as we have described? But all that is changed now. Almost daily the sharp class distinctions of the past are becoming more blurred and indistinct; while even among the laity nothing is a more unfailing passport to unbounded respect than consistent exhibition of deep personal religion. In truth, we might almost begin to assert that the pendulum has swung too far; for a mere noisy assertion of religious zeal is certainly occasionally allowed to constitute an excuse for acts very questionable if weighed by their own intrinsic merit.

Now, have the Scottish Clergy taken full advantage of this change—that is the ordinary parish ministers, scattered over the surface of the land? We think not. A remnant of the old idea seems to us still to linger in Scotland, that the minister is a man *merely* only on a level with the respectable middle classes, not one who is on a level with all classes; and the ministers themselves appear tacitly to acquiesce in this opinion, thereby losing a valuable social position. Any man, in these days, can hold his own in any circle, if his education be on a level with the members of that circle. On that point ministers of the Church of Scotland have nothing to fear. But let it not be for a moment thought we are urging upon them the fostering of a spirit of ambitious worldliness. The clergyman, of any denomination, who is imbued with that spirit, is a very pitiful creature. The social success we would gently reproach the average class of Scottish ministers for not laying violent hands upon, is of a very different order. If they would win that social position with the higher class, which would greatly increase their powers of usefulness, it must be through winning the respect of that class by lives of unwearied labour, and unfaltering self-sacrifice. Let them stand forth more prominently than they do as the champions and defenders of the outcast and the destitute; as the terror and scourge of callous or lazy poor law officials of all descriptions; as men who will spare no trouble, fearlessly risk censure and loss, rather than let those suffer for whom there is scant aid, or even justice, if the Clergy do not secure it for them; who will plunge

fearlessly into dens of vice and wretchedness, in search of those poisonous drains, and houses unfit for human habitation, of which it would be hard to say whether they are hot-beds more of physical than of moral and social ruin; as men who will not hesitate to turn upon the wealthiest and most powerful of their parishioners, when in these respects they are guilty towards their humbler brethren, and tell them sternly to their faces that their brother's blood is crying to heaven for vengeance on them. Let them do these things, and by thus placing themselves on a level with the lowest, they will soon rise, through the mere moral force of self-sacrifice, to the level of the highest, and be thus the friends and equals of all classes. And let them do this with the energy and determination which, in general, characterise Scottish action, and we will venture to prophesy that they will very soon find themselves the key-stone of just as efficient a Church social system as that of their English brethren—by virtue of those very national characteristics of energy and determination, of probably a more efficient one; and then there will not be a band of men more honoured and revered, or wielding greater powers for good, than the clergy of the Church of Scotland.

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#### ART. V.—THE SCOTTISH LOYALISTS.

1. *Spalding's Memorials of the Troubles.*
2. *Patrick Gordon's (of Ruthven) Short Abridgment of Britane's Distemper.*
3. *James Gordon's (the Parson of Rothiemay) Scots Affairs.*
4. *Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose.*

WHEN *Waverley* came forth to astonish our grandfathers, it probably owed much of its charm to the 'Sixty Years Ago' upon its title page. A great master in the music of the Imagination had arisen, but the lyre on which he played had a chord of departing, yet thrilling tone, that spoke to memory as well as sympathy. It was a chord that to some still living had



vibrated to an exciting measure in days ere yet 'the fair White Rose had faded,' and had strangely moved many others, and long unstrung and hasting to decay, had yet a magic of its own, when gently touched once more. Even now, men not in old age remember having conversed with those who saw the recruiting parties of Lord Lewis Gordon, or the fierce foragers of Cumberland, and might have watched the gallant horsemen of Lord Pitsligo ride forth, or return in danger and disguise, to sell wine, and carry pedlars' packs by their own mansions: or, lurking in the caves of an ironbound coast, find the blasts of the German Ocean better company than the cornets of King George. Even now, some yet young, may have marked with reverent interest, in some retired nook a lingering genuine spark of the old Jacobite sentiment. But at a time which to us is more than 'sixty years ago,' there were still many in old Scottish country-houses, and in quiet sea-ports on our north-eastern coast, for whom the cause of the last of the Stuarts had still that charm, which after centuries of slavery and degradation, Byron found in Greece;—

' Her's is that loveliness in death,  
That parts not quite with parting breath,  
Expression's last receding ray,  
A gilded halo hovering round decay.'

Of all crushed parties the Jacobites are the luckiest. History has treated them more kindly than is generally the lot of those who have failed; and the dynasty they would have dethroned has smiled upon their descendants, not without a tinge of admiration, for the transgressions of the fathers. They have, of course, been the butt of those 'superior persons,' who not being endowed by nature with a superabundance of the sentiments of loyalty and self-sacrifice, arrogate a monopoly of judgment and common-sense. They have been both admired too much and run down too much. They have not received credit for the many solid qualities many of them possessed, and some turned to good account in the service of foreign governments. They are judged as the historian of Parliaments would judge a perpetual Opposition. If he sympathises with it, he dwells on the lofty principles

embodied in eloquence as brilliant, and put forth by leaders as beloved; if he does not, he descants on the impracticability of genius, the virtues of officialism, and possibly the wickedness of obstruction; complacent with quiet consciousness of the truth which the defeated express that 'a majority is the best repartee.' The last Jacobite rising was put down with great severity; attainder and exile were the penalty of those, of whom every Government, assailed and victorious, was bound to make an example, slaughter and spoliation were the lot of many more; and in some cases salutary terrorism seemed to merge into vengeance. But the night though dark was short. Defeat in politics or in civil war, has penalties that go beyond the grave. Not only are the plans traversed or the head taken off, but the escutcheon is torn and reversed, and the fame blackened. A time comes, however, when the shield is restored to its place, and the virtues of the deceased traced in golden letters by an admiring hand. Eulogy succeeds extermination.

To the Jacobites that time came soon. The courageous confidence of Chatham, and the wise magnanimity of George III., opened new outlets for the energy of the Highlanders, and won over the leaders of the Jacobites. Never was sound policy and royal mercy better requited. In the American conflict many Highland settlers struggled and suffered for the White Horse, as their fathers had done for the White Rose; and when the shock of the French Revolution reverberated throughout Europe, who shall measure the value of the additional support given to the cause of order and loyalty by the representatives of those whose error had been that they loved it 'not wisely, but too well?

In time, historical Jacobitism became the fashion. It chimed in with Scotch nationality, it was sufficiently near in time to real Jacobitism to preserve the link of human interest, and it is painted in pictures that will never fade, on pages that cannot die. The Jacobites have had justice from posterity, and more than justice. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the tribute which has been paid to their zeal and their afflictions has not operated some injustice to their contemporaries who took the other side. Chiefs brought clansmen to the field to fight for King George as well

as King James : there were ladies not so celebrated who showed energy and resource, resembling that of the lady of Moy; and when the conflict was undecided, in districts where the insurgents were triumphant, the black cockade had its share of devotion. But the wand of the magician has not waved over the black cockade, and where traditions of fidelity to it linger, we sometimes think the depositaries are half ashamed of them.

It has always seemed to us strange that while the Jacobites of 1715, of 1745, and even of 1689, have had every honour paid to their remains, no Scottish author has given us a due representation of those Scotsmen who in the Great Civil War espoused the side of the Crown. The Marquis of Montrose *par excellence* 'the Great Cavalier,' has of course his *vates sacer*, but there were others on whom historians touch only incidentally, and yet whose names their country should not willingly let die. Of the fact many explanations might be offered. Jacobitism had the advantage of the hostility to the Union, and it was English force that crushed it. North of Tay the sympathy was overwhelmingly with Dundee, and subsequent events gave some colour to Dr. Pitcairn's epithet '*ultime Scotorum*.' The English prejudice against the Scots which Chatham stooped to rebuke, had its counterpart in a feeling which saw in Jacobitism the national cause. But the Loyalists of 'The Troubles' were a party defeated and weeded out with great severity, and on them and their opponents alike came foreign conquest and the iron hand of Cromwell. One great name dwarfs all the others, for among his contemporaries Montrose shone

'Like Hesperus amongst the lesser lights,'

and the picture many have formed of his party, is that of one commanding figure with a background of Highlanders. Yet among his companions, and some at one time opposed to him who ought afterwards to have been his comrades, were men of courage and men of culture, and men who combined both, many of whom on the battlefield, on the scaffold, and in bleak solitudes, paid to the cause they loved 'the last full measure of devotion.'

The period is a very fascinating one, and there is a wonderful

appropriateness in the North-country name, 'The Troubles,' which is at once so true, so expressive, and neutral. The combination of feudal power and popular emotion, of ecclesiastical excitement and clan feuds, of deep religious fervour and oligarchical intrigue, of tyranny and superstition, of liberty and loyalty, the hand of Richelieu and the energy of Cromwell, the brief ascendancy of one bright and daring genius, and the steady purpose with which one subtle mind, always exercising an influence of which the substance was greater than the show, and ever more active than it appeared, made the sacred name of 'civil and religious liberty' cover the aggrandisement of one powerful house, blend in a picture which sets off the strife of principles, with the most picturesque details of incident and the utmost variety of individual character. There rise before us the scenes in the church of St. Giles and the churchyard of the Grey Friars, the zeal of the 'devouter sex' and the enthusiastic crowds that flocked to eloquent pulpits, the conclaves of the longer heads that knew when to take the business 'off the hands' of the women and the mob; the horsemen galloping far and wide with the famous Covenant; the 'constellation on the back of Aries' for signature, the Glasgow Assembly marked by the eagerness of Montrose to 'justify all that was done,' and the silent scrutiny with which one young man observed the conflicting currents of affairs, calculated the direction and the force of the resulting flow, and pushed his bark into the stream; the return of the crowd of soldiers of fortune from the wars of Germany to more promising circumstances at home for the carving of estates, and the extracting of titles from a defied monarch; the camp on Dunse Law and the blue bonnets over the Border; the bold barons of the north flaunting the red ribbon which the House of Huntly wore for the King, and the dogs of Aberdeen lying dead upon the causeway for bearing round their necks in despite the blue one of the Covenant; the serving-maids of the city which was at once 'the London of the North' and the Oxford of Scotland, conveying ammunition to the loyal burghers at the Bridge of Dee, as zealously as their sisters in the South had screamed down the 'mass'; the stabling of horses in kirks, and the enlightening of the good folks of the Garioch and Strathbogie as to

what 'free quarter' and 'plunder' meant; the many stricken fields from the 'Trot of Turriff' to Monk's sack of Dundee; the hot rush of the Highlanders, the discipline of the 'reidcotte regiment,' and the shock of Leslie's steel-clad horsemen; the unrelenting rule of 'the bigots of the iron time,' and the wild rebound of the Restoration.

Of the many elements that struggled together during that agitated time, the Royalists were but one, but they formed a party larger than is generally supposed, and stronger than we should be inclined to think from what it achieved. It gained adherents as events developed, for many who at first espoused the cause of the Covenant were driven to the other side, and even to the block. Affairs bore a very different aspect at the time of the Solemn League and Covenant, from what they had possessed when the National Covenant aroused the enthusiasm of all southern and central Scotland, and the position of Montrose and some others was one analogous to that of Hyde and Falkland in England. But if one class is typified by Montrose, the other finds its rally-point in the name of Huntly. The one class might be called the constitutional, the other the original Loyalists. The one possessed the activity of a guiding spirit, the other the force, which, without genius to guide it, is frittered away. It was because the backbone of the Royalist party was broken before it found a man to lead it, that the conquests of Montrose had little stability. It was a further misfortune of the cause, that the only chief who could give it success had been before employed to destroy its resources and break the spirit of the region from which it drew its strength. The memory of previous opposition, and the recollection in Huntly's mind of a breach of faith, which he attributed to Montrose, but for which, there is reason to believe, he was not responsible, was fatal to the co-operation so necessary at a later period to the Royal cause. The want of it lost all, and brought both of them to block; but if it had existed, or if Montrose had had command of the loyal province against which his earliest efforts were directed, what might he not have achieved?

In Montrose and Huntly were displayed very different types of character. The one illustrates the spirit of active loyalty, that in

the most adverse circumstances is ready to dare all, and never despairs; the other, the spirit of passive loyalty that foresees the event, and resolves to abide it at the call of honour and duty, and yet, while taking in the full bearings of its surroundings, leaves out the most important fact of all—

‘How much the weight of one brave man can do.’

The one at the darkest moment rides in disguise through the midst of a hostile country, appears in ‘Highland weed’ at a gathering of a few mountaineers, and in a few months has won six pitched battles, and made himself master of Scotland; the other born to the chief-ship of a wide spreading house that could muster the best cavalry of Scotland, and summon to the field a large Highland following of its own, who could count on the support of one of the first towns, and what was then the most learned university in the kingdom, never has the courage or capacity resolutely to use his strength, takes up arms at the most inappropriate moment, and lays them down as incomprehensibly, and at last only blunders on a victory at the close of his career, through the high spirit of his son stung by the proverb of their foes ‘that they had only to deal with King Charles and Huntly, and both were unfortunate in all they undertook.’ The one preserved his honour, the other created fame.

It is with a strange interest that we watch the appearance of the great figures in the drama, who were all to make their exit so publicly and painfully. Hamilton, who had served two masters, and betrayed the interests of both, atoned for his double-dealing by falling before the headsman of Cromwell. Montrose mounted the ladder with as firm a step as he had entered the Tweed, and Huntly died expressing his conviction that ‘this present Kirk and State are both marching too far in a wrong way.’ The zealots of both parties may find, in the history of these days, materials enough for sermons on the text—‘Vengeance shall haunt the bloody man,’ for when the wheel turned round, Argyll, to whom his contemporaries gave the distinction of being ‘the first to raise fire in Scotland,’ illustrated with fortitude the maxims it had been his custom to quote, *abscindantur qui nos perturbant*,



and *mortui non mordent*. More than twenty years after, the son, who had watched with him from a balcony the humiliation of Montrose, followed his father and their foe along the same dark road.

In the earlier stages of 'The Troubles,' Scottish Loyalism, with few exceptions, so far as it actively manifested itself, was local. Within the district lying 'benorth the Mount,' and east of Spey, it possessed all the elements which form a great party. It had at its head the Marquis of Huntly, then probably the greatest subject in Scotland, it commanded the power of expression in the adherence of the Professors of the University of Aberdeen, at that time a body of remarkable men, famous for their learning throughout Europe, and it rested on a popular foundation in the attachment of the citizens of Aberdeen, and small burghs, such as Inverurie, 'always a loyal place,' to their local habits and leaders. In the alliance between the Royal Lieutenant of the North, and the town of Bon-Accord, we see the same phenomenon which formerly drew the burghs and the mass of the population closer to the Crown, as a protection against the smaller feudal houses, and in bleak Strathbogie we find the Scottish parallel to the English 'cider-country.' But there was also the elements of an opposition. The lands of the Abbey of Deer were a sheet-anchor to keep the Earl Marischal steadfast to the covenant, so long as revocations of teindgrants were in the air, the historic feud between the houses of Gordon and Forbes placed them on opposite sides, the Frasers, Crichton; and others, who saw themselves overshadowed by the mighty house of Huntly, ranged their vassals against the Crown; and the exertions of the notable Mr. Andrew Cant, and others of his complexion, secured adherents in the outlying district of Buchan, and a party in the town of Aberdeen itself. But whenever the North was left to itself, or the standard of Huntly uplifted, it was seen that the old couplet held true:—

'By Bogie, Deveron, Don, and Dee,  
The Gordons hae the guiding o't.'

He could wield all his own feudal forces, and Highland following; he could rely on the hearty aid of the independent gentle-

men of his own name, and he had the support of the great body of the lesser barons in the central districts of Aberdeenshire.

In the Introduction to the *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, Dr. Grub describes the Marquis of Huntly as 'a nobleman of stainless faith and purity, to whose character history has not yet done justice.' The eulogium is true, and perhaps exhaustive. There is no episode of a time so fertile in picturesque incident, more dramatic and impressive than the interview between Huntly and Colonel Munro, the envoy of the junto of leading men in Edinburgh. The attitude of the North, the certain quiescence of the other Loyalists in Scotland depended on the course that he would take. Captain as he had been of the famous corps of Scottish *gens d'armes* in France, his courage was acknowledged, and an experience of Court life had given him the training commensurate to his high position in the realm of Scotland. Not deficient in political penetration, he was able to measure the force of the movement that 'the Green Table' directed, and these able politicians thought they knew how to secure him. Their agent was chosen with care, as one acceptable to Huntly on account of old friendships and his own knowledge of the world. The morning after his arrival at Strathbogie, he disclosed his mission. Finding the Marquis in his garden, amid the plantations which that very Munro was to cut down to hut his soldiers, and beside the stately castle of Huntly, the carvings of which some of his fanatical followers were to deface, Munro offered him 'the first place and leadership of their forces,' as the price of his adherence, and for a bare neutrality the payment of all his debts, 'which they knew to be near £100,000 sterling.' He impressed on him that loyalty was hopeless, and 'bid him expect' that if he declared for the King 'they would ruinate his family and estate.' 'To this propositoune,' says the old historian, 'Huntly gave a short and resolute *reparti*, that his familie had risen and stode by the Kings of Scotland; and for his part, if the event proved the ruine of this King, he was resolved to bury his lyfe, honores, and estate under the rubbidge of the King his ruins; but withal thanked the gentleman who had brought the commission, and advysed him thereunto.' The incident appropriately introduces a career illustrative not of genius and endea-

vour, but of suffering and constancy. When at the King's command Huntly raised the royal standard, his instructions were congenial to his own temper, and charged him not to draw the first blood. Inveigled under safe-conduct to a conference, and carried a captive to Edinburgh, renewed inducements were put before him, but his reply was the same as before, and couched in striking terms. 'Whereas you offer me liberty upon conditions of my entering into your covenant, I am not so bad a merchant as to buy it with the loss of my conscience, fidelity, and honour; which in so doing I should account to be wholly perished. For my own part, I am in your power; and resolved not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance upon my posterity. You may take my head from my shoulders but not my heart from my sovereign.'

On the settlement of the Scottish difficulties Huntly returned to the North, and was living quietly at Strathbogie, in 1643, when the Solemn League and Covenant, as aggressive as the National Covenant of 1638 had been defensive, plunged Scotland into the whirl of the English Civil War. Spalding describes him as 'glad to live in peace, and could not get it;' he went so far as to solicit leave to go to France and resume his service in the Scots Guards, but this was refused, and the demands of the estates, and the tyranny of the local Committees, made him again take the field. Many gallant gentlemen, and a large force both of Lowlanders and Highlanders flocked to his standard at Inverury, but the brief campaign was only marked by the seizure of the town of Montrose, and his disbandment before the growing forces of the Covenanters, to the bitter grief of his high-spirited clan. How he sought refuge in Lord Reay's country, how he returned to his own territories when the genius of Montrose had made the Royal cause supreme in the North, how the want of co-operation between them wrecked that cause, and how Huntly when all was lost was betrayed by some Highlanders in the wilds of Lochaber, and carried again prisoner to Edinburgh, is a story too long to trace in detail. 'The Marquise of Huntlie,' says his clansman, 'whose deep judgement foresaw the event, and therefore had forborne his enemies diverse times when he was able to have crushed them, was nevertheless with obstinancie and malice, persecuted, so as

they never left to follow him till they got him in their hands; and therefore before he died he repented that he had so often with held his sons, and so many brave and valiant men that followed him, from taking of these advantages that were so often offered them.' He was kept in close confinement till after the close alliance between Cromwell and the party of Argyll, when some of these political preachers, whom such times always produce, and who in the guise of the shepherd display the ferocity of the wolf, clamoured for his blood, and gave in their accusation against him. 'This accusation was so like to that of his master's in England, that he did rather rejoice in it than plead not guilty; for since the death of the King, he was so overcome with melancholie, grief, and discontentment, that there was no giving him comfort.' He declared 'that he should take it at the Parliament's hands as a great curtsie, to rid him of that lyfe which was now become loathsome to him. Nor had he a greater felicitie in this world than that was that he hoped, within few days to follow his master, whom he would attend in the other world, as joyfullie as he had here served him faithfullie.' His brother-in-law, Argyll, refused to exercise his influence to save his life, or procure a respite, that might let him die of a disease that seemed bound to run its course in a few days. The difference of character between the two Royalist chiefs appeared even in their demeanour on the scaffold. Equally courageous, and alike in their general deportment, Montrose went to death in scarlet, while Huntly was completely clothed in mourning, 'to signify that he mourned inwardly for his sins, and outwardly for his master's death.' Huntly was the head, but not the type of the Northern loyalists. That is rather to be found in the career of his sons, Lord Gordon, the Falkland of Scotland; Viscount Aboyne, the bold leader of the Aberdeenshire barons; and Lord Lewis Gordon, who, while quite a boy broke away from his tutor and appeared 'in Highland habit,' the darling of the wild Highlanders of Glenlivet and Deeside. As in old Baillie's words, 'the canniness of Rothes brought in Montrose to our party,' so the statecraft of Argyll had secured the eldest son of Huntly, Conscientious and painstaking in the discharge of the commission the Estates entrusted him with in the North,

Lord Gordon endeavoured to raise a regiment in his own country for Leslie's army about to invade England, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. But for once, as on a similar occasion in Athole, the bonds of feudal attachment failed to hold. 'His freindis and followers, not liking weill the cause, went ilk ane a sindrie get.' What first gave his opinions another turn, was the severity with which Argyll treated his father's people in Strathbogie, and after he joined Montrose he seemed like another man. His genius had scope, his kinsmen followed him as they had refused to do before, and at Auldearn and Alford, where he fell, with his hand on the shoulder-belt of General Baillie, these brave horsemen performed feats for which his father had never given them the opportunity. Spalding describes the Marquis as the father of 'ten children of singular erudition,' and his two eldest sons at any rate were accomplished cavaliers. Short as their association was, an extraordinary friendship sprung up between Montrose and Lord Gordon. 'Never,' says the old annalist, 'did two of so short an acquaintance ever love more dearly; there seemed to be a harmonious sympathie in their natural disposition.' More consistent in his career, if not so lovable in his disposition, Aboyne had been the youthful leader of the barons of the North, when they rose after Huntly had been carried to Edinburgh. When he appeared in the capital after the Peace of Berwick, he had been almost stoned in his coach by the rabble; and when war again broke out, after distinguishing himself among the Cavaliers in England, with sixteen other gentlemen he cut his way through the league of the Covenanters at Carlisle, and in spite of severe injuries received by a fall of his horse, penetrated through the hostile districts of Scotland as Montrose had previously done, and joined him in Athole. With his brother he fought gallantly at Auldearn and Alford, and led the decisive charge at Kilsyth. But then recalled by his father, or, as Sir R. Spottiswoode phrased it, having 'taken a caprice,' he led his horsemen home, and Leslie's cavalry had it all their own way at Philiphaugh. Having parted with his father shortly before, he escaped capture when Huntly was taken, and made his way to France, where 'he died of an ague about one year after,

to the no small prejudice of the King's cause, and the great regret of all his friends.'

Such were the Northern Cavaliers of highest rank; but the backbone of the party was found in the enthusiasm of those they led. In the history of Scots affairs, Gordon ascribes the secret of Huntly's strength to 'all his followers being as much inclined to the King as himself,' and in recounting the incidents of the effort known as the 'barons' war,' in which the first blood was shed, he describes the associated Loyalists as having 'armes and horses and courage and affection enough to the King's cause, the very common soldiers running to service of their own accord.' Of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, one of the leaders on that occasion, whose head was the first to fall, Spalding, after vividly describing the circumstances of his execution, gives this character—'And albeit Haddo was ane ancient baron of good estait, and still ane loyal subject to the King; hardie, stout, bold in all haserdis; freind to his freind, and terribill to his enemy; of a good life and conversation, moderat, temperat, and religious; loth and unwilling still to give offence and als loth to take offence; and withal ane good nichtbour, loving and kind to his tennentis, kinsfolkis, and friendis, yit thus he endit.' Many more, including Hay of Delgaty, a leader of the opposite side at that skirmish, were to end like Haddo, and many were the brave gentlemen who, like Seton of Pitmeddon, 'dung in two' by a cannon ball at the Brig of Dee, or the Highland *preux chevalier*, Donald Farquharson, cut down unarmed by Hurry's dragoons in a raid on Aberdeen, or Lord Kinnoul perishing in the wilds of Assynt, were to seal their loyalty with their life. At the commencement of the struggle, the cause of the Crown was to the citizens of Aberdeen the cause of liberty, and as events progressed, the learned doctors and professors of the university found that for them the watch-word of 'civil and religious liberty' meant expatriation and excommunication. But in the South all ranks and classes joined in enthusiasm for the Covenant. A few noblemen in the South and West might be unwilling to assail their Prince, and a few men of reflection and penetration might look askance on a movement so easy to be manipulated, and so liable to go beyond what it professed. Those who held places under the Crown might



feel the restraints of office; but without open dissent, the stream rolled on. The combination attained its public objects, but a new scene opened, and the rôles were changed. The gradual progress of Montrose from the most vehement of the popular party to the most resolute assertor of the Monarchy is intelligible enough, and we fail to find for the Solemn League and Covenant that general enthusiasm which was evinced for its predecessor. When Montrose threw the weight of his gifts into the Royal scale, the Loyalism of the South possessed both a hero and a prophet, and they were men of whom any cause may be proud—Montrose and Drummond of Hawthornden. ‘They were,’ says Professor Masson, in his life of the latter, ‘perhaps the only two men of their time in Scotland that we should now unhesitatingly call men of genius; and it so happens that Scottish Conservatism or Royalism can claim them both.’ He suggests that it was to Montrose that Drummond sent a copy of his ‘Irene,’ with the, in that case, appropriate compliment:—‘Force hath less power over a great heart than duty.’ Very different were their circumstances, for the one personified the loyalty of the battle-field, and the other the loyalty of the library. ‘Great attempts, heroic ventures,’ were to ‘assure the fame’ and ‘renown the fall’ of the one; the other’s contribution to the struggle lay in sharp epigrams, and political tracts. But it adds a touch of picturesque completeness to the drama, when we picture the refined poet and scholarly gentleman musing amid the groves of ‘classic Hawthornden’ over the distraction of the times, surviving till the fatal year, and in the words of his own epitaphs on more than one of his friends—‘Dying with our Monarchy and State.’ In the brief hour of triumph one of the first acts of the Royal Lieutenant-General had been to issue a special protection to Drummond, and to desire him ‘to repair to our Leaguer,’ bringing his papers with him. Had Drummond not stood at the head of the men of culture and retirement, this class would have been well represented by Robert Gordon of Straloch, the eminent geographer and antiquarian, but much more than a geographer or antiquarian. We feel that if the laws are silent amid the clash of arms, the arts do not wholly sleep, when at the time of the mortifying visit to Edinburgh we find King Charles himself

writing about the revision of 'certain cairttis of this our ancient kingdome sent heir from Amsterdam,' and the Estates, in the jar of Montrose's campaigns, exempting Straloch 'from all quartering or other publick burdens quhatsumever, to the end he may the mor friely attend and perfect that work of helping and correcting the severall cairtis of this kingdome.' He had refused the royal offer of a baronetcy, because, as he said, 'he would rather be the oldest baron of his name than the youngest baronet.' He was the trusted friend and councillor of his chief, the Marquis of Huntly; on more than one occasion he had acted as mediator between the contending factions, and his intimate knowledge of the actors in the drama, gives special value to the unfortunately uncompleted work of his son, the parson of Rothiemay. While he held aloof himself from the strife, one son, John Gordon of Fechil, distinguished himself in the spirited cavalry combat, when the Northern barons were retreating before Montrose and Marischal, and seven cavaliers encountered seven horsemen of the covenanting gentlemen of Angus, and brought two of them prisoners to Aboyne's camp; and another, an advocate by profession, accompanied Montrose throughout his cavalier campaigns.

If literature has its representatives in Drummond and Gordon, and learning in the doctors of Aberdeen, especially their principal, Dr. John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity, the Rutherford of the Loyalists, whose 'Peaceable warning to the subjects in Scotland' struck the first note of Conservative dissent, law has one equally eminent in Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the President of the Court of Session. Himself 'a mild man, well-belov'd of many,' he had the misfortune to be the son of an Archbishop, and, non-combatant though he was, his own appointment of Secretary of State by the King, and his bearing a commission to Montrose, had to be expiated by 'the Maiden.' He met his fate with great dignity, in spite of the insults of the Provost of St. Andrews, who had been a servant of his father, and the interruptions of his devotions, by an intrusive divine, to whom he observed 'that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged this nation, the greatest certainly was, that for the sins of the people, He had

sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets.' Sir Robert Spottiswoode was eminent in his profession, but his attainments were of wider than merely professional range. 'He was,' says Wishart, 'remarkable for his deep knowledge of things both divine and human; for his skill in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic, besides the western languages and an intimate acquaintance with history, law and politics. He was the honour and ornament of his country and the age, for the integrity of his life, for his fidelity, for his justice, and for his constancy. He was a man of an even temper, ever consistent with himself.' One of his colleagues on the Bench, Sir Archibald Stuart of Blackhall, was with Lord Napier and Stirling of Keir, a member of the little party of personal and political friends so closely associated with all the policy and fortunes of Montrose. And the law which has given to Scotland many of her best public men, may also claim an interest in Lord Napier, who represents the grave statesman of an older generation than that which 'The Troubles' bred. The biographer of the hero to whom he acted the part of Mentor, describes him as 'the chief of that very ancient family, and not less noble in his personal accomplishments than in his birth and descent; a man of the greatest uprightness and integrity, and of a most happy genius, being, as to his skill in the sciences, equal to his father and grandfather, who were famous all the world over for their knowledge in philosophy and mathematics, and in the doctrine of civil prudence far beyond them.' He had held the high office of Treasurer, and enjoyed the personal esteem of both the sovereigns whom he served. He died in the wilds of Athole during the desultory warfare which followed the disaster of Philiphaugh.

But the best type of Scottish aristocracy is also to be seen in the Earl of Crawford, and he, the destruction of whose 'bonnie house' lives yet in Scottish song, the gallant old Earl of Airly, who, with his sons Lord Ogilvy and Sir Thomas Ogilvy, killed in the hour of victory at Inverlochy, so steadfastly and gallantly supported the royal standard. They brought to the cause all the influence which age and high character command. On the other hand, had the author of *Coningsby* been familiar with the details of the Scottish Troubles, he might have adduced many instances

from them in support of the contention advanced by Sidonia as to the capacity of youth to achieve great deeds. Montrose and Marischal, Gordon and Aboyne, were all very young men when they first appeared as political leaders and captains of armies, and we are struck by the few years attained by some of the Cavaliers on whom the ruling faction wreaked their vengeance after Philiphaugh and the dispersion of Huntly's followers. Young, indeed, to ascend the scaffold were young Gordon of Newton, young Leith of Harthill—twenty, and young Ogilvie of Innerquharity, only eighteen.

Nor was the poetic vein so sweetly touched by some of the English Cavaliers, absent in their Scottish compatriots. The 'dear and only love' of Montrose recalls the lines to Althea of Lovelace, and there rings in the Scottish hero's verses the spirit so well expressed in the Englishman's—

'I could not love thee, dear, so much,  
Loved I not honour more.'

In his love of letters, as in his aptitude for arms, Montrose represented his followers at their best. There is material enough in the records of his early tastes, and the remains of his opinions and counsels, to establish the substantial truth of the statement made by the biographer, who thus addresses his son—'Your glorious father, whose spirit was so eminent both for speculation and practice, that his camp was an academy admirably replenished with discourses of the best and deepest sciences, whose several parts were strongly held up under him, the head, by those knowing noble souls, the Earls of Kinnoul and Airly, the Lords Gordon, Ogilvy, Napier, and Maderty, and the two famous Spottiswoodes, Sir Robert and his nephew. This I am bold to mention, because such noble discourses banished from his quarters all obscene and scurrilous language, with all those offensive satirical reflections which now are the only current wit among us; and if any such passed forth in his presence, his severe looks told the speakers it was unwelcome; nor did this proceed from a narrowness in his heart, being to all who knew him one of the most munificent as well as magnificent personages in the world.'

But if Montrose commands our admiration for the all-round character of his genius and accomplishments, we ought not to overlook a unique figure, which shows in strong relief and almost in caricature, the union of qualities rarely found together, that was one of the features of the time. 'In the beginning God made Adam of red earth,' but among all those who have sprung from the Protoplast, there are few stranger or more interesting characters than his lineal representative Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. No wonder that Cromwell treated him with some forbearance, for it is difficult to imagine any one except 'the domineering creditor' seriously angry with the inventor of the Universal Language, the author of the *Trissotetras*, and the compiler of the most unique of genealogies. The son of a northern baron whose 'strict adherence to the austere principles of veracity proved oftentimes damageable to him in his negotiations with many cunning sharks,' Sir Thomas Urquhart, in his young days, while his relatives and companions were revelling in the wild open air life of the border line between the Highland and Lowland populations, devoted himself to the study of 'optical secrets,' 'mysteries of natural philosophy,' and trigonometry, which, as he loftily remarks, 'in the estimation of learned men would be accounted worth 600,000 partridges, and as many moor fowles.' But the mathematician co-existed with, and did not suppress the feudal baron, for he would break in a wild horse, and seems to have prepared himself for the vanquishing in after years in single combat three men of different nations who had not shown sufficient respect for his own. It was not only with the sword but the pen also, that the levelling doctrines at work in Scotland, and the action of his contemporaries gave him an uphill task in vindicating the honour of his country. He was present at the Trot of Turriff, but the 'iron-handed usurer,' who was the bane of his life, prevented any great efforts in the Royal cause. Spending some time in England and more abroad, he returned in 1645 to live at Cromarty, and felt as the severest of calamities the 'sequestration of his books.' In 1649 he joined the northern rising of the M'Kenzies and Munros, and subsequently found his way with the Royal army to the disastrous field of Worcester. How

his papers were saved from the gutter and the pipe of the musketeer is an incident often told, and captivity gave leisure to his pen. A man of varied accomplishment and vast erudition, his action was hampered by his circumstances, and his learning rendered vain by his eccentric fancy. Yet with overweening vanity he combined a real patriotism and a sound and constant loyalty, which many who smile at his extravagancies would do well to emulate.

Amusing as Sir Thomas Urquhart is, his chief interest for us here is that he illustrates, in common with his graver and greater contemporaries, that spirit of devotion which swayed the lives and ennobled the deaths of so many of his associates, and was most signally manifested by their illustrious chief,—to use the quaint words of the title page of *Montrose Redivivus*—‘In his actions for Charles I., and in his passions for Charles II., King of Scots.’ With them loyalty was not merely a code of opinions, but a living faith. To us there is something very impressive and convincing in the unfeigned horror and bitter agony which the news of the King’s death at the hands of the Regicides produced in his friends, and the effect it had on some. It struck down the exile Montrose, and completely crushed the captive Huntly, and gave a fatal termination to the illness of his son, Aboyne. Excessive joy at hearing of the Restoration caused the death of Sir Thomas Urquhart. Nor were these the only instances of such extreme effects. Their record on the page of history is testimony to the reality of the widespread feeling they illustrate. It is easy for the modern writer of a sceptical and cynical generation to sneer alike at the ‘fanaticism of the gentleman’ and the ‘fanaticism of the clown,’ but the wiser and more generous student of the past will respect true feeling and sincere conviction wherever it is found. And in ‘The Troubles’ it was found on both sides; the ranting trooper might have his opposite in the canting hypocrite; but both causes were championed by those who were no fanatics, but simply men in earnest for the defence of great principles and in the discharge of constraining duty. There are some occasions on which they are not the greatest minds that are least moved, and those who felt thus deeply had thought none the less clearly,



and acted none the less resolutely. Some of them indeed had previously faced as firmly the *vultus instantis tyranni*, as they afterwards withstood the *civium ardor prava jubentiam*. Statesman and noble, soldier and jurist confirmed their convictions by their sufferings, and though for them the crowning catastrophe had come, none the less did they contribute an important element to the national history, and exercise an influence on the development of the future. Reaction came, and it was followed by reaction, but to the present the principle and the sentiment imprinted by the old Loyalists, modified and applied in various ways, at different times, has restored the balance of the constitution, when it seemed lost for ever under the necessary expansion of new forces, and the impetus of the exuberant activity of young Reform. And even those who think that 'the unfortunate brave' were mistaken, may pause for a moment, as they pass, to 'cast a stone upon their cairn.'

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#### ART. VI.—A LEGEND OF VANISHED WATERS.

UNDER this title we propose to summarise the story of the many remarkable changes which have befallen the beautiful loch of Spynie,—till recently the fairest sheet of blue water in all the once great and important Province of Moray. Now only a tiny lake covering an area of about a hundred acres, remains in that little corner, which alone, of all the ancient Province, still bears the name of Moray,—a small lakelet in a small county.

Not thirty years have elapsed since this great fresh water lake was one of the most important features in the scenery of the east coast. But the circumstance of chief interest connected with it, is that within comparatively recent years, when our ancestors and their contemporaries built their castles on the shores of the lake, it was an estuary of the sea, a secure harbour, where fishing smacks, and sometimes trading ships from far countries found secure refuge. And now, so complete

is the transformation, and so utterly have the waters vanished, that the whole district is one wide expanse of rich arable land,—a dead flat, interesting only to the eye of the agriculturalist, and only varied by a few scattered belts of plantation.

The two prominent objects in the midst of those level corn-fields, are the little hill on which stand the ruins of old Duffus Castle, once the fortified stronghold of Freskinus de Moravia, one of a race of barons of renown in the days of King David I. In later ages it passed to the possession of the Lords Duffus, who held it till the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of their servants, who only died in 1760, used to tell of the time when bonnie Dundee, the celebrated Claverhouse, was a guest in the Castle, about the year 1689, and how she brought the claret from the cask in a *timber stoup*, and served it to the guests in a silver cup. She described Claverhouse as ‘a swarthy little man, with keen lively eyes, and black hair, tinged with grey, which he wore in locks which covered each ear, and were *rolled upon slips of lead, twisted together at the ends.*’

The old Castle was a square tower, with walls about five feet thick, and defended by parapet, ditch, and draw-bridge; and round about it was an orchard and garden, noted for its excellent and abundant produce. The moss-grown fruit trees remain to this day, though the Castle has long been abandoned.

At a distance of about five miles, on another slightly raised site, stand the stately ruins of the Palace of Spynie, which, six hundred years ago, was the summer home of the Bishops of Moray, at a time ere their magnificent Cathedral of Elgin (still so beautiful in its decay) had been ruthlessly pillaged and destroyed. Notwithstanding its ecclesiastical character, this too was a stronghold, with loop-holed walls of enormous thickness, watch-towers and portcullis; and here, baronial warrior-bishops, backed by a goodly company of armed retainers, held their supremacy over turbulent neighbours, not only by Divine right, but by very emphatic temporal force, for, as has been well said, ‘while holding the crosier in one hand, they could ever wield the sword with the other, and act the part of commanders of their stronghold at Spynie, whenever danger threatened.’

Various kings and great nobles had bestowed on the diocese of Moray, grants of land, forests and fishing, and the revenues and temporal power of its Bishops as 'Lords of the Regality of Spynie,' were so great, that they could well afford to live as princes, and accordingly they did so—their households including as many officials, with high-sounding titles, as those of the greatest nobles.

The title of 'Lord of Regality' was no empty name. It was a grant from the Crown, conferring the right of regal jurisdiction in a specified district, both in matters civil and criminal. The Lord of Regality held the power of life and death, and was the arbitrary Sovereign within its territory. These extraordinary and most dangerous powers were bestowed on various subjects, and in 1452 were granted by King James II. to the Bishop of Moray and his successors. The jurisdiction extended over the lands of the Church in the shires of Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Banff and Aberdeen, and included no fewer than nine baronies, besides other lands.

These magnificent Prelates were certainly 'lords over God's heritage' in a most literal sense. Their daily lives practically exemplified how 'when a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace,' for dire experience had taught them the need of supplementing their spiritual armour, with very efficient temporal defences. For though their tenants and vassals were so far privileged that they were not liable to be called upon to serve the King in time of war, they were not unfrequently compelled to act on the defensive.

Thus it was that when David Stewart of Lorn was made Bishop, in 1461, and was so sorely troubled by the Earl of Huntly, as to be compelled to pass sentence of excommunication against him, the wrathful Clan Gordon threatened to pull the Prelate from his pigeon-holes (in allusion to the small rooms of the old Palace). The Bishop replied that he would soon build a house out of which the Earl and all his clan should not be able to pull him. Thereupon he built the great tower which has ever since borne his name, 'Davie's Tower,' four stories high, with walls of solid masonry, nine feet in thickness. Even the large windows of the upper rooms were

defended by strong iron bars, while the casement was occupied by vaulted rooms, doubtless for the use of the men at arms. The roof is also vaulted and surrounded with battlements. But neither devotion nor recreation were forgotten in the building of this lordly palace, for within its great quadrangle stood the Bishop's Chapel, and also a spacious tennis court, while round about the precincts were gardens well supplied with fruit trees. Here the poor of the parish daily assembled at a given hour, when a bell was rung, and from the postern gate, an abundant supply of bread and soup and other food was freely dispensed to all comers.

Many a strange change have these grey walls witnessed—ecclesiastical pomp, and martial display—pious and benevolent lives contrasting with scenes of cruel warfare and outrage—but no such changes have been half so startling as these physical transformations which have altered the whole aspect of the land. In place of rich harvest-fields extending far as the eye can reach, much of the country round, and all the distant high ground were covered with dense natural forest, haunted by wolves, which were the terror of the peasants, and afforded worthier sport for the barons, than their descendants can create for themselves in the slaughter of home-reared pheasants.

Even the older members of the present generation found true sport in abundance round the reedy shores of the great fresh-water Loch of Spynie—the largest loch in the land of Moray—a beautiful sheet of water, which, after long resisting successive efforts at drainage, has, within the last twenty years, yielded to a determined attack, to the joy of the farmers and the bitter regret of naturalists and sportsmen. The latter might (but do not) find a corner of consolation in being saved from the temptation to lay up for themselves after-years of agonising rheumatism, brought on by long hours spent in creeping among marshy shallows on bitter winter mornings—such expeditions as were deemed joy by my brothers, whose well-filled bag often included some rare bird—a chance visitor of these shores. For until the middle of this century, the rushes and water-grasses and rank herbage of the swamps

offered such favourable breeding-grounds as to attract wild-fowl in incalculable numbers; widgeon and mallard, pochard and pintail ducks, teal, moor-hens and great flocks of coot. The Loch was also the resort of numerous wild swans, though these had already become rarer visitants than of yore.

Many were the grey-brindled wild cats which haunted the neighbouring fir woods, and many the badgers, which burrowed like rabbits, in the dry banks, thence emerging to dig up the soil after the fashion of pigs. So numerous must these creatures have been in bygone times, that they have bequeathed their name to the lands of Inch-brock, 'The Isle of Badgers,' a name worthy of note, in that it tells not only of the presence of an animal now well-nigh extinct, but also of the time when the sea covered these lowlands, and this, now inland farm, was a wave-washed isle.

The capercaillie too (which, being interpreted from the Gaelic, means 'the cock of the woods,' and which had entirely died out of Scotland till it was recently re-imported from Norway to Perthshire, where now twenty to twenty-five brace sometimes figure in a single day's battue), was a regular winter guest in the pine woods of Moray,\* until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when it ceased to make its annual appearance, a loss not much regretted by the proprietors of the forests, in which this 'cock of the woods' leaves his mark in the destruction of many a promising shoot.

But when we speak of the blue, fresh water loch (familiar to many travellers from the fact, that some thirty years ago, the railroad from Elgin to Lossiemouth was constructed right across its shallow, half-drained bed, so that the passengers looked to right and left across its glassy waters),† we are speaking of a comparatively modern feature in the landscape. At the time when these two grey ruins, the Palace of Spynie,

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\* Rhind's *Sketches of Moray*, 1839.

† The inhabitants of Lossiemouth tell with pride that their railway across the lake to Elgin was the *first line completed in the north!* It was opened for traffic in 1852. The coast line of rail from London to Inverness, *via* Aberdeen, was opened in 1858. The Highland line *via* Perth was opened in 1863.

and the Castle of Duffus, were built, both stood on the brink of a broad estuary of the sea,—indeed, there is little doubt that prior to A.D. 1200, the Castle of Duffus, on its green hill, was actually an island. Up to the year 1380, Spynie was a secure harbour, whence ‘the fishers of sea-fish’ were in the habit of sailing with their wives and children to the sea, thence bringing back fish in boats. In fact, the sea-water lake at that time extended about five miles eastward of the Castle of Spynie, to a spot called Kintrae, a Gaelic name signifying ‘the top of the tide.’

Strange to say, there are actually four places bearing this name, each but a little distance from the other, and evidently marking the gradual recession of the tide, as the coast line changed. Finally we come to a spot which still bears the name of Salterhill, and here, about thirty years ago, the remains of a salt factory were discovered, in the course of digging deep drains. There were also salt works on the banks of Loch Spynie itself, for they are mentioned in a deed by Bishop Bricius, bearing date A.D. 1203.

Nearly two centuries later, in A.D. 1383, a protest was made by the Lord Bishop Alexander Bar, against Lord John Dunbar, Earl of Moray, and the burgesses of Elgin, respecting the right of the fishing and of the harbour of Spynie, which he maintained to be within the ecclesiastical marches, and to have ever been held by the Bishops of Moray, who, each in his time, had ‘fishers, with cobbles and boats, for catching salmon, grilises, and finnaces, and other kinds of fish, with nets and hooks, without impediment or opposition, the present dispute excepted.’ He further showed how his immediate predecessor, ‘John Pilmore, of worthy memory, intending to improve and deepen the course of the said harbour, laboured therein, not secretly, but in his own right, as master of the said harbour.’

Later documents, bearing date 1451, still speak of the fishermen and harbour of the town or burgh of Spynie.

All manner of shell-fish abounded in this ancient sea-loch, more especially cockles and oysters. The latter, alas! have long since disappeared from our shores, together with the alluvial mud in which they formerly flourished, the sea coast



being now essentially sandy; but their presence in older days is proven by the numerous shell-mounds, marking where clusters of fishers' huts once stood. These 'kitchen-middens' have in recent years been discovered all along the banks of this great basin. One of these (at Briggsies), which covers a space of nearly an acre, and is in many places about a foot in depth, consists of masses of periwinkles, mussels, limpets, razor-shell, cockles and oysters, but especially oysters of very large growth, such as may well increase our regret that they should have ceased to exist on these shores. A good deal of charred wood mingled with the shells, tells of the kitchen fires of the consumers, and one bronze pin has been found, as if just to prove that these villagers were possessed of such treasures. A very remarkable confirmation of the old records regarding the ancient bounds of the sea, was obtained when the loch was drained, and *large beds of oysters and mussels were found buried beneath the deposit of fresh-water shells and mud.* Several anchors of vessels were also found, and sundry skeletons. In the same connection, we may notice the name of Scart-hill, *i.e.*, the Cormorant's hill, which now lies at some distance inland, but which assuredly was originally on the sea shore.

When the recession of the ocean deprived the Bishops of their natural harbour, and the fish supply could no longer be landed at their very door, they still retained their right to the coast fishing; and so, in the year 1561, we find the Bishop and Chapter of Moray granting a charter for 'the fishing called the Coifsea' (which we now call Cove-sea), to Thomas Innes, in consideration of certain payment in kind, the Bishop reserving the right of purchasing the fish caught, at the rate of twenty haddocks or whittings for one penny, a skait or ling, twopence, a turbot, fourpence, and a *seleich*, or seal, for four shillings.

The harvest of the sea included cod, skate, hallibut, haddocks, whittings, saiths, crabs, and lobsters. The latter continued abundant until the close of the last century, when an English company established a lobster fishery in the bay of Stotfield, for the London market, and in the first season forwarded sixty thousand lobsters alive to town, in wells formed

in the hold of the ship, the prisoners simply having their claws tied to their sides. They were captured in iron traps, which seem to have had the effect of frightening the lobsters away from the coast, for, like the oysters, their presence here is now a tale of the past.

The lobsters, when captured, were stored in a marine prison, till an opportunity presented itself for sending them to the southern market; and the lobster catchers were apparently not very discriminating in their selection of a suitable spot where these cases should be sunk. Hence, in April, 1677, we find an appeal from the Captain of a trading ship, 'The Margaret,' of Inverness, who, having occasion to call at the port of Crail, summoned a pilot to take in his vessel. He says, 'Ane Inglish man being heir, had two Lapister-kists\* in the harbour-muth, and the boatmen towed close to them, and they aleadge that they did losse two hundred Lapisters, for which the Bailies heir has fyned me in thretie pundis Scots, and arested and lodged me in prison till I will pay the same, which I doe think ought not to be payed by me, since that I had a Poileot, and the chists lay right in the midle of the harbour-muth.'

No historical record tells how, or when, the sea threw up the wide barrier of shingle and sand which in later ages separated it from the loch, transforming the broad estuary into a brackish lake with wide-spreading marshy shores, extending as far as Gordonstoun.

That the change was gradual, seems proven, by the formation of a series of raised beaches, distant about a mile inland from the present coast line, and forming a succession of plateaus covered with large rounded stones, extending for about three miles along the shore. This curious ridge averages a height of twenty feet above the sea level, and is from fifty to a hundred yards in width. It is known that in these remote times, the river Spey, which now enters the sea at Fochabers, flowed far more to the west, and probably brought down from the mountains those vast supplies of gravel and water-worn

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\* Lobster-chests.

boulders. But though the Spey may have brought the material, the process by which the separation of sea and lake was effected is all a mystery. Whether, as some suppose, by sudden storms, or else by gradual secession of the ocean, certain it is that when Boece wrote his History of Scotland (which, though not published till 1526, was probably written earlier, since we learn that the author was born in Forfarshire in 1465), the sea was shut out from the lake, and though he mentions that in his time, old persons remembered the lake being stocked with sea fish, and although the river Lossie continued to flow right through the loch, certainly as recently as 1586, even salmon had all forsaken the loch, and were replaced by pike and trout, and multitudes of eels.

The cockles and oysters too (the possession of which, the Bishops maintained as their right), had disappeared with all other denizens of the salt sea, and in place of the brown tangled seaweeds, fresh water plants had sprung up. The old historian specially noted the abundant growth of *swangirs*, whatever they may be, on the seeds of which the wild swans loved to feed, and large flocks of these beautiful birds floated in stately pride on the calm blue loch, while multitudes of wild duck and all manner of water-fowl found refuge among the tall bulrushes and sedges.

'In this region,' says he, 'is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plentie of swans. The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant unto the said fowle in the eating, wherefore they call it swangirs; and hereunto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted it will never be destroyed, as may be proved by experience. For albeit that this lake be five miles in length, and was some time within the remembrance of man verie well-stocked with salmon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie upon the same, it became so shallow that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by means whereof all the great fishes there be utterlie consumed.'

Very lovely in those days must have been the view from

'Bishop Davie's Great Tower,' overlooking the wide expanse of quiet lake, fringed with willows and rustling reeds and dark green alders (precious to the fishers as yielding a valuable dye for their nets), while beyond the recently created ridge of shingle, lay the grey stormy ocean, and the watchers on the tower might mark the incoming of the fleet of brown-sailed fishing smacks, or catch the first glimpse on the horizon of the approach of some gallant merchantman (or perchance a smuggler's craft) bringing stores of claret and brandy, and other foreign goods. The lake extended from Aikenhead in the east, far to the west of the ancient salt works at Salterhill, etc., close to Gordonstown, and ferry-boats took passengers across, from point to point.

About the centre of the loch rose the island of Fowl Inch, where multitudes of water-fowl found a quiet breeding-place, while the west end of the loch was dotted with green islets called holmes, which were covered with coarse rank pasture, called star grass. In days when no foreign grasses had yet been imported, this natural growth was precious, so in the summer time the cattle were carried by boat and turned loose on the isles to graze. Of these isles, the principal were those known as Wester Holme, Easter Holme, Tappie's Holme, Skene's Holme, Picture Holme, Long Holme, Little Holme, and Lint Holme. This precious star grass also grew luxuriantly on some parts of the shore at the west end of the loch, and gave its name to those favoured spots—such were the Star Bush of Balornie, the Star Bush of Salterhill, and the Star Bush of Spynie.

Now, he who has a steady head, and sufficient nerve to venture on climbing the ruined and broken spiral stairs (through the gaps of which he looks down into the empty space left by the total disappearance of the rafters and flooring which once divided the great tower into four stories, an ascent which we candidly confess has cost us many qualms, though the interest of the view from the summit well repays the exertion and risk), may still stand on Bishop Davie's battlement, but in place of the broad lake he will see only one

little corner of blue water sparkling like a sapphire in a setting of yellow gold—the withered reeds of autumn.

This small lakelet, covering about a hundred and ten acres, of which eighty are open water, lies on the edge of the dark fir woods of Pitgaveny, and is carefully preserved by means of strong embankments separating it from the broad main ditch, which has so effectually carried off most of the water. Small as it is, it suffices to attract a considerable number of wild-duck, and a multitude of black-headed gulls breed on its margin, notwithstanding that their nests are freely pillaged, as their beautiful green, russet, or brown eggs are in great request for the table. About eighty dozen are thus taken each week during the breeding season.

A neighbouring tract of rush-land still shows that art has not yet wholly triumphed over nature, but to all intents and purposes Loch Spynie has vanished 'like as a dream when one awaketh.' Gone are the quiet pools, well sheltered by tall reeds, where wild geese and ducks, herons and coots were wont to rear their young; no longer does the otter haunt the shore, or the booming note of the bittern echo from the swamp whence the white mists rose so eerily, and where the fowlers devised cunning snares for the capture of wild fowl. The thick mud once tenanted by multitudinous eels, and which afforded such excellent sport to the spearers, is now turned to good account by large tile works, and the waters are everywhere replaced by rich green pasture, dotted over with sheep and cattle or comfortable homesteads with well-filled stack-yards; while straight dull roads take the place of the old ferries; the boatmen have vanished, the wayfarer trudges on mile after mile across a monotonous expanse of ploughed land or harvest fields, and the wild cries of the water-fowl are replaced by the shrill steam whistles that tell of railway trains, steam ploughs, or reaping machines. In short, the days of romance and of *ague* are a dream of the past, and unpoetic wealth and health reign in their place.

The means by which, in the course of many generations, this transformation has been effected, form a curious chain of incidents in the history of unreclaimed lands. For many years

after the separation of the sea from the loch, the river Lossie continued to flow in its ancient channel, passing right through the loch, draining the surrounding land, and carrying superfluous water to the sea. There is reason to believe that the Bishops, who were then almost sole proprietors, assisted this natural drainage, by the cutting of deep lateral ditches, by which means some land was reclaimed, and the loch became so shallow that a road of stepping stones was constructed right across it, so that the Bishop's Vicar, after preaching to his congregation at Kinnedar (or 'The head of the water') might thereon cross to hold another preaching in Oguestown (the ancient name for the parish church at Gordonstoun).

This road across the water was carefully constructed, and was known as 'The Bishop's Stepping Stones.' These were three feet apart, and on them was laid a causeway of broad flat stones, along which the great Church dignitaries might walk in safety. There was also an artificial island near the Palace of Spynie—measuring about 60 paces by 16—for what purpose it had been constructed no one can guess, but it was built of stone, bound together by crooked branches of oak—a strange survival of those oak forests which flourished in this district at the time when the Danes occupied Burghead, and came to repair old galleys and build new ones at Rose-isle, compelling the inhabitants to cut timber for this purpose, in the oak forests.

Now, only bleak, bent-clothed sandhills, stretch along the shore, and from time to time an old root or log is upturned, as if to prove that the tradition was not wholly a delusion.

Not only have the oak forests disappeared, but the inlet of the sea where the galleys were constructed, has been so wholly blocked up with sand, that not a trace of it is to be found, nor is there any mark to suggest at what period this portion of the coast can have been an island, as its name indicates.

Strange to say, however, the fisher-folk in the neighbouring village of Hopeman tell us that some years ago a foreign vessel ('we call them all foreigners, unless they're British,' say the fishers), bound for Burghead, being caught in a storm, ran right ashore near Lossiemouth, as the captain understood by



his very old chart, that he could run into Spynie harbour, and thence sail round under shelter, by the back of Rose-isle.

A similar change, though in a smaller matter, is suggested by the name of Brae-mou, which was formerly Burn-mouth, at Hopeman, and also by the neighbouring farm of Burn-side, which lies on rising ground near the sea-board of crags, but where now, not the tiniest trickling brooklet is to be found, nor the faintest indication of any fresh-water stream having ever flowed.

There is, however, a tradition that two hundred years ago this, and several other burns flowed westward into the lochs of Rose-isle and Outlet, both of which were filled up, and their very sites obliterated, in the awful sand-storms which, in the autumn of 1694 and spring of 1695, overwhelmed so many miles of the most fertile land along the shores of Moray.

These storms, thus diverted from their natural channel, turned eastward, and thenceforward flowed into the Loch of Spynie, thus adding to its water supply, at the same time as the drifting sand had partly filled up its basin. Consequently the loch overflowed its bounds, and did vast damage to the surrounding lands. The Bishop's causeway and other artificial roads, the Spynie islet and various homesteads, were lost to sight, and well-nigh to tradition.

After the Reformation, when Church and lands were divorced, the Protestant Bishops, shorn of all temporal power, might indeed inhabit the Palace of Spynie, but were compelled to be passive witnesses of the decay of the ancient drain-works, and the enlargement of the lake. The newly-created Lord Spynie never lived in the county, and suffered everything to go to ruin, so the accumulating waters encroached on the arable land to such an extent, as to necessitate some very energetic measures,—nothing less than turning the course of the river Lossie, and providing it with a new seaward channel. So in the year 1599, two of the proprietors, Sutherland of Duffus, and Archibald Douglas of Pittendreich, whose lands chiefly suffered, agreed on this action. Their quaint old contract tells how:—  
'For sa meikell as ye Loche of Spyne hes our flowd ane pairt of ye Tounes of Salcotts, Cruikmures and Kirktown of

Duffus, and yt ye said loche, sua far as men can persaiv, is like to droun mekell mair of ye Landis and Barony of Duffus nor is allreddie drounit, and yat ye said drounit lands cannot be maid dry, and ye Loche of Spyne stoppit fra doing of gretar harme to ye said lands, except ye laird of Pettindryt his landis of ye Barony of Kilmalemnok be cuttit and tirit, for makking of dykkis *till outhald ye watter of Lossie from ye said Loche of Spyne*, and drouning of sundrie of the said Archibald his landis.'

How these 'twa lairds' set about their work, does not appear, but they evidently failed, for early in the seventeenth century most of the neighbouring proprietors combined, and having taken counsel with Anderson of Finzeach of Aberdeen, a skilful engineer, they succeeded in turning the Lossie into a new channel, separating it from the loch by a great embankment. A map of the province of Moray, published in 1640, by Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, shows that this great work had been successfully accomplished.

After this the waters were fairly kept within bounds for half a century, during which men were too much occupied with stormy politics to give much heed to the care of their lands. But in 1694, their attention was rudely re-awakened by the terrible calamity to which we have already referred. The drifting sands, which desolated so wide a belt of the most fertile lands of Moray, did similar damage, though, in a less degree, in this district, and so effectually filled the channels of all streams, and a great part of the bed of Loch Spynie, that its waters, now greatly enlarged, again overflowed their bounds, covering the cultivated lands, and presenting a wide but very shallow surface.

There was danger too, lest the river Lossie should break its artificial banks, and return to its original channel. So in 1706 the neighbouring lairds bound themselves 'to maintain and support the banks of the said river with earth, feal, (*i.e.*, turf) stone, creels, etc., . . . in order to keep her in the channel where she now runs, and *where she had been put by art and force.*'

Dunbar of Duffus next attempted to reclaim his own swamped lands which bore the appropriate name of Watery-

mains. He made great dykes and embankments, set up a windmill with pumping machinery, and all went well, till a great tempest overthrew the mill and destroyed the machinery, whereupon the waters once more over-swept the arable lands, of which they retained possession for many years, during which the neighbouring proprietors endeavoured to decide on some system of concerted action. This, however, was effectually prevented by the counter interests of the family of Gordonstoun. It appears that when in A.D. 1636, Sir Robert Gordon purchased these estates, he had obtained a charter from John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, bestowing on him various lands, including those of Salterhill, otherwise called Little Drainie, 'with all singular parts, pendicles and pertinents, *together with the passage or ferry-boat in the Loch of Spynie, with the privileges, liberties, profits and duties of the same.*'

In consequence of this charter, the family of Gordonstoun claimed the sole right, not only to the possession of boats on the loch, but also to the fishing and fowling, and the use of the natural pastures on the shores, and the determination to preserve these rights was a fruitful source of litigation. It was therefore evident that whatever means were adopted to diminish the lake, would infringe on the 'profits and privileges' of the Gordons.

Thus matters were left until the year 1778, when we find local chroniclers bewailing the neglect which had suffered 'the ancient ditch' to be so filled up, that the loch was daily increasing westward, forming a level sheet of water upwards of four miles in length, and covering a space of 2500 acres, besides the broad margin of marshy land, which, owing to occasional overflows, was rendered worthless.

In the following year, Mr. Brander of Pitgaveny (whose low-lying lands near the loch, suffered more severely than those of his neighbours), resolutely set to work at his own expense, aided by his brother, to restore the old drain, and enlarge it, so as to form a canal of some importance. He succeeded in lowering the surface of the lake upwards of three feet, and recovered 1162 acres of land, of which eight hundred fell to his own share, and the remainder to Gordonstoun and other adja-

cent estates, which touched the shores of the loch. Then it was that the stone causeway (which was dimly remembered in local tradition) reappeared, as did also the artificial islet aforesaid, and an isle at the west end of the loch, on which were the ruins of a turf cottage. On excavating these, there were found a quantity of peat ashes and a number of coins, which had apparently been here buried, on some sudden alarm. Little did their possessor dream what changes would pass over his humble home, ere his hidden treasure was again brought to light!

For a while, Sir William Gordon (the last of the strong-minded energetic race of the Gordonstoun family), looked on with comparative indifference, supposing that this effort to drain the loch would prove as unsuccessful as those of the past. But when he found that the waters had actually fallen so low, as to stop his ferry-boat, he deemed it necessary to take active steps for the protection of his rights, and, by application to the Crown he obtained a new charter, bearing date 22nd July 1780, giving him a right to '*the whole lake or loch of Spynie, and fishings of the same* with all the privileges and pertinents thereof, together with the ferry-boat upon the said loch, with the privileges, liberties, profits and duties of the same.' The granting of this charter was vehemently opposed by the neighbours, and the Messrs. Brander raised a counter-action, and counter-claims, which kept all the lawyers busy for many years.

Meanwhile, nature and art continued in conflict. Three years after Mr. Brander's canal was finished, a great flood occurred, which did it considerable damage; the loch regained much of its lost ground, and the ferry-boat continued to ply even to Salterhill, until the beginning of the present century.

By this time Sir William Gordon was dead, and the neighbouring proprietors awoke to a conviction that it would prove remunerative to unite their efforts in making a great new canal so as to reclaim more land. Telford, the most eminent engineer of his day, was consulted. (He was then engaged in the construction of the great Caledonian Canal). His suggestion was, that a canal should be cut through the high ramparts of

shingle, so as to give the loch a direct outlet to the sea; with mighty sluices at the mouth, to keep back the tide.

It was determined to carry out this scheme, but a considerable time elapsed ere the neighbouring proprietors could come to an agreement, respecting their several shares in the expenditure, and in the division of land to be reclaimed. This matter involved so much discussion, so many surveys and reports, such examination of witnesses, and other legal forms, that it dragged on, at an enormous expense, from 1807 to 1822! when the dispute was finally submitted to arbitration by the Dean of Faculty.

The work was, however, not allowed to suffer by these long legal proceedings. The contract was taken in 1808 by Mr. Hughes, who had just completed the works of the Caledonian Canal. Though the Spynie Canal was a small matter as compared with that great national water-way, it was no mean undertaking. The distance to be cut, between the Loch and Lossiemouth was altogether seven miles, and its breadth was to be about thirty feet along the bottom, with an upper slope of one and a half feet, to each foot of perpendicular depth. Though the labour involved varied greatly at different points, the cutting in some places not exceeding twenty feet, it was necessary in crossing the raised beaches to dig to a depth of about sixty feet, with a surface width of a hundred and fifty. Besides the actual canal, heavy excavations were requisite at various points, and many miles of side-drains were also required, in order to dry the land.

By 1812 the works were all completed, at a cost of £12,740, a sum in which law expenses formed a heavy item. The lowering of the waters put a stop to ferry-boats, so it became necessary to construct a turnpike road right across the Loch. The workmen stood in some places breast deep in water: thus the Bishop's stepping-stones, ere many years passed, were succeeded by a substantial turnpike road; and the eels and pike, which still found a home in the shallow waters, were further disturbed by the construction of a pathway for 'the iron horse.'

For about seventeen years all went well, and although the

sluices at Lossiemouth were of wood, and were not self-acting, involving constant watchfulness on the part of the men in charge, the surface of the loch was maintained at an almost permanent level. Some expensive alterations were made in 1827, to avert a threatened danger of inundation in the fishing town of Lossiemouth; but all such minor fears were swallowed up in the reality of the great calamity which befel the whole land of Moray in the memorable floods of 1829, when very heavy rains on the high lands caused all the rivers to overflow their natural bounds, and ravage the land. Even the little Lossie, usually so peaceful, was transformed into a raging torrent, and, bursting the barriers which had grown up between her and the loch, overflowed the canal, leaving it choked with great stones and earth; and rushing seaward, carried away the sluices. Thus, in a few brief hours, did the mocking waters destroy the labour of years.

In that widespread desolation, men had neither money nor inclination to return at once to the battle; but ere long the canal was partially cleared, the Lossie was turned back into her accustomed channel, and high banks were raised to keep her therein. The sluices, however, had vanished, consequently the canal was simply a great tidal ditch, so that the loch itself rose and fell about three feet with every tide. The said ditch was, however, so far effectual, that although the loch did overflow a considerable amount of cultivated ground, its limits were well defined, and the raised turnpike road continued perfectly dry.

As years passed by, however, the bottom of the canal gradually filled up, and the loch thereupon commenced to spread farther and farther, so that the neighbouring farms suffered severely, as field after field was inundated. Finally, in 1860, all the tenant farmers united in a petition to the proprietors to set about a thorough drainage of the loch. This was agreed upon, and after many consultations, the land owners resolved to send a deputation to the fen country of England, there to study the various methods successfully adopted for marsh drainage. Three reliable men were accordingly selected to represent the proprietors, the factors, the



tenants, while a fourth was added to the number as professional adviser. These made a careful examination of the principal water-works in England, and of all the various kinds of sluices in use, together with the methods of working them.

On their return they drew up a report, recommending in the first instance, a partial drainage by means of self-acting sluices, which they calculated would, at a cost of £2430, so reduce the waters as to leave only a pool covering about a hundred acres near the old Palace of Spynie. Steam power, they considered, might, if requisite, be applied later to a final drainage. As there were at this time, two thousand acres of land either under water, or so moist as to be worthless, there appeared a fair prospect of a good return for the outlay. The works were accordingly commenced. Sluices were put on at the sea, but months of toil and grievous expenses were incurred ere they were in working order. In the first instance a foundation of solid masonry had to be raised on what proved to be a quicksand, and an artificial foundation of heavy piles had to be prepared. Then the water poured into the cutting made through the shingly beach on the one hand, and through the sand on the other—so that the works were inundated both by sea and loch. The unhappy contractor, who had never calculated on such a contingency, pumped and pumped with might and main for months, till at length in despair, 'out of heart and out of pocket,' he quietly disappeared from the country. It was necessary, however, that the work, once begun, should be finished. It was accordingly undertaken by two local tradesmen, who in due time accomplished it satisfactorily, but at a very heavy loss on their contract. Four sluices of cast iron, each weighing eighteen hundredweight, were so finely poised as to be opened or closed by the rise or fall of a quarter of an inch in the surface of the water; and when shut not one drop of water could ooze through from the sea into the canal. Then followed the great labour of again digging and deepening the canal, and ere the works were finally accomplished, the expenditure was found to have been about £8000—rather an increase on the estimate! Nevertheless, the work is considered to have been remunerative, as the

greater part of the two thousand acres thus reclaimed has proved first-class soil, and even the poorer portions are capable of considerable improvement.

Of course there is a necessity for some annual expenditure, as repairs are needed to keep the whole in working order, but so far, the drainage of what was once the beautiful Loch of Spynie may be deemed a complete success, from an agricultural point of view, though we need scarcely say that, to the naturalist and the sportsman, the farmer's gain is an irreparable loss.

Much of the low-lying land thus reclaimed, proved to be heavy clay, which produced rich wheat crops, and, till a few years ago, a large proportion of this, and indeed of all the Lowlands of Moray, was devoted to this grain. Now, however, since Russia and California furnish such abundant supplies, home-grown wheat is no longer a remunerative crop, so the wheat fields have vanished, and are replaced by barley and oats, and especially by turnips, for Moray is now emphatically a stock-rearing district, and the farmer's energies are concentrated on care of his beasts.

As concerns the fine old palace with its 'regality,' its glory rapidly waned after the date of the Reformation. The last Roman Catholic Bishop, Patrick Hepburn, was a man who fully understood the art of making friends with the unrighteous mammon, and, foreseeing the storm of 1560, he made provision in due season, and sought to secure a powerful ally against the day of need. He therefore presented a large part of the most valuable land of the diocese to the Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, with fishing and other privileges. He also handsomely endowed many of his own kinsfolk and friends, including *his own sons*, which was indeed adding injury to insult, so far as his relation to the Church was concerned! Having thus disposed of her property for his own benefit, forestalling other robbers of Church lands, he settled down to a less harassing life, in the old Palace, and there died at an advanced age.

At his death the remaining lands of the diocese were confiscated by the Crown, and in 1590 were granted to Sir Alexander Lindsay, son of the Earl of Crawford, who had found favour with King James VI. by advancing 10,000 gold crowns

to help to defray his majesty's travelling expenses, when journeying to Denmark to wed the Princess Anne. Sir Alexander accompanied his sovereign as far as Germany, when he was attacked by severe illness, and had to remain behind. King James wrote from the castle of Croneburg in Denmark, promising to bestow on him the lordship of Spynie, with all lands and honours pertaining thereto. 'Let this,' said he, 'serve for cure to your present disease.' Sir Alexander was accordingly created Lord Spynie, but not caring to live in the North, he appointed a neighbouring laird to act as Constable of the Fortalice and Castle of Spynie. He himself afterwards lost favour with the King, and, in 1607, had the misfortune to get mixed up in a family fight in the streets of Edinburgh, which resulted in his death.

This method of settling a family difficulty was curiously illustrative of the times. The Earl of Crawford had assassinated his kinsman, Sir Walter Lindsay, whereupon Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, nephew of the murdered man, assembled his armed retainers to avenge the death of his uncle. The two armed forces met in Edinburgh, whereupon Lord Spynie interposed and strove to bring about a reconciliation. Hot words soon resulted in a fray, and the mediator was accidentally slain, and fell pierced with eleven wounds. Altogether this is a very pretty picture of the mediæval method of settling such questions.

The title died out in the third generation, when the lands reverted to the Crown, and have since passed from one family to another, till both lands and ruined Palace reached the hands of the present owner,—the Earl of Fife.

Three centuries, however, have passed by since the death of Bishop Hepburn, for the first hundred of which the old Palace was the seat of the Protestant Bishops, to whom it was transferred after the Reformation. One of these, John Guthrie of that ilk (which means that he was the proprietor of Guthrie in Angus), held it in the year 1640, when the Covenanters took arms, whereupon he garrisoned the Palace and prepared for a siege. But when General Munro arrived with a force of three

hundred men, the Bishop was persuaded to surrender, so only his arms and riding-horses were carried off.

Again in 1645, when Montrose laid waste the lands of Moray with fire and sword, the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Elgin (the Cathedral town of the diocese), fled at his approach, to seek shelter for themselves, their wives, and their treasure, in the Palace of Spynie, which continued to be the Episcopal residence till the time of Bishop Colin Falconer, who died there in 1686.

Two years later, in the Revolution of 1688, the Palace was annexed to the Crown, as the lands had already been, and since that date it has remained uninhabited. As a natural consequence, its timber and iron work have gradually been removed by the neighbouring farmers,—the doors, the flooring, the oaken rafters, the iron gate, the iron chain of the portcullis have all disappeared, and only a portion of the massive stone walls now remains to tell of the glory of this ancient palace. Even the best of the hewn stones, and the steps of the old stairs, have been thus appropriated. Never was transformation more complete than that which has changed this once mighty ecclesiastical fortress and palace of the seaboard into a peaceful inland ruin, whose grey walls, now tottering to their fall, re-echo only the scream of the night owl, or the bleating of the sheep which crop the sweet grass within its courts.

Nevertheless, the position of those who occupy the reclaimed lands is by no means one of absolute security. Not only might another year of unwonted rainfall on the hills repeat the story of the floods of 1829, and restore the Lossie to its self-chosen channel through Loch Spynie, to the total destruction of all sea-sluices—but there exists the ever-present and far more serious danger on the west, where only a narrow belt of low sandhills protects the cultivated land from the sea, which in the last century made such serious encroachments on the neighbouring Bay of Burghead. Now, again, the ocean appears to be gaining ground, and when we note its ceaseless activity all along this coast (one year building up huge barriers of great boulders to a height of perhaps thirty feet or

more, and in the following year carrying them all away, to leave only a gravelly shore), we cannot ignore the possibility that a day may very possibly come, soon and suddenly, when, after a night of unwonted storm, the morning light may reveal a gap in the sand hills, and the fertile lands, which at even-tide appeared so safe and so peaceful, may lie deep beneath the salt sea, which, reclaiming its rights, has once more resumed its original channel, passing round the back of Rose-isle, to restore to the ancient harbour of Spynie its long lost character.

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#### ART VII.—HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM.

*Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1884.*

WITHIN recent years events have occurred which have summoned the attention of the country to the consideration of Highland affairs. Sometimes the appeal to public notice has been deeply pathetic; occasionally it has been somewhat rude. In the autumn of 1881 a violent storm swept over the North and West of Scotland, the harvest had not been gathered in, and a great part of the corn crops was lost. To add to the disaster, the storm was accompanied by a tide of unusual height, and the fishermen's boats were carried away to sea, or dashed to pieces on the rocks. In the following year the potato crop failed, and many of the people were reduced to utter destitution. Happily the ear of this country is rarely deaf to the cry of real and wide-spread suffering. Large sums of money were readily subscribed for the relief of the unfortunate crofters; and by means of this generous aid, the distress of the time was, to a great extent, alleviated. There was no lack of gratitude on the part of the Highland peasantry; possibly hopes of further benefits of a different kind were raised.

Be that as it may, the crofters may well have felt that those who had so spontaneously come to their assistance might not be indisposed to give their voices and their votes in favour of such measures as promised to effect a permanent improvement in their condition. At any rate, half-formed thoughts and aspirations which had slumbered in the minds of the people were quickened. In the island of Skye, the idea rapidly developed itself that the poverty of the people was due neither to a dispensation of Providence, nor to the fault of the people themselves, but mainly to the unfavourable conditions under which they lived. And then the cry was raised, which passed from lip to lip over the length and breadth of the Highlands, until it has now become the unanimous voice of the country, for 'more land.' The crofters looked about them. They saw hundreds of families huddled together on a few acres. Side by side with these, they saw tens of thousands of acres in the possession of one man, or perhaps devoted to the pleasures of a short summer holiday. These broad acres were once theirs. Their ancestors had won them; their grandfathers possessed them; it remained for them to lose them. With these memories painted in exaggerated colours on their vivid Celtic imaginations, with their Highland pride and Highland independence humbled to the dust by the cruel destiny which compelled them to accept public charity, with the acute consciousness of present suffering—with all this passing upon their sensitive, quivering, Celtic natures, it is perhaps not surprising that the crofters betrayed some signs of impatience. The discontent became wide-spread. Acts of violence were perpetrated; and resistance to lawful authority was shewn. The law-breakers were punished; but the impression became general that the crofters, who had hitherto been, at any rate, not less patient and law-abiding than any class of Her Majesty's subjects, must have well-founded grievances. It was felt that a thorough inquiry ought to be made into the condition of the Highland people; and accordingly, in March 1883, the government was prevailed upon to appoint a Royal Commission. The Report of this Commission is now before us. It is a production of much interest and importance. Extending over five



bulky volumes, containing over 3000 pages, it records the evidence taken at sixty-eight sittings in various parts of the Highlands, in the islands of the West, and in Orkney and Shetland, as well as in Edinburgh and Glasgow; it gives tables and statistics, throwing much light on the actual condition of the people; it contains elaborate papers by factors and by crofters' delegates—by men fitted by their talents and experience to place the various phases of the crofter question in the most effective light; it provides an unexpected pleasure for the lover of old ways in a delightful essay on the customs of the country; it places before the reader a useful and curious compilation of evidence from old authors; above all, it offers for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and of the country in the Report proper, the views of the Commissioners regarding the condition of the people, their needs, and the means by which those needs may best be supplied.

The fact of outstanding importance completely and conclusively established by the Report is this, that the appointment of the Commission was an urgent public necessity. The picture of the crofter's life drawn by Her Majesty's Commissioners, and now exhibited before the British public, is such as few can contemplate without pain.

After we have fully recognised this central fact, the first necessity we feel is for a careful and detailed account of the circumstances which have brought about the present condition of affairs. We look for an analysis of the organism of Highland society, for a differentiation of the various forces acting on the life of the crofter, for an interpretation of the significance of the main factors in the crofter's environment. Some process of this kind must necessarily form the basis of any scheme of reform which is at all related to actual facts; and, further, precisely to the degree that such an analysis is exhaustive, and its results intelligently interpreted, can the scheme of reform based upon it be regarded as worthy of public confidence. The constitution of the Commission was such as to justify us in looking forward with interest and with hope to valuable work of this kind.

The hope has not been vain. The Report begins with an

exceptionally able criticism of the influences at present at work in the Highlands. We are not indeed favoured with an exhaustive enumeration of the conditions of crofter life, nor is there any attempt at a systematic application of an economical calculus to such conditions as are specified. The method pursued is very different. Nor have we to read far into the Report to discover the reason. The Commissioners' inquiries have led them to the discovery of one or two agencies of surpassing importance. The crofter's misery is not the result of a complex combination of causes. It would therefore be idle and trifling to differentiate and evaluate the multitude of circumstances which have only an indirect and remote bearing upon his lot.

What, then, are the predominating causes of the crofter's poverty? Is the explanation to be discovered in his own character, in his indigenous and ineradicable slothfulness and improvidence; or, is it to be traced to the nature of his physical surroundings, to the barrenness of the soil, and the fickleness of the climate; or, finally, is the cause to be found in the laws of the country and the 'rules of the estate'? If the first of these questions is to be answered in the affirmative, then, indeed, is the crofter's future altogether hopeless. His destiny has been played out. His race is effete. His only duty, if indeed one who has no motive power can be said to have any responsibility, must be one of self-effacement. Let him 'move on,' and recede nearer and nearer to the sea,—to that sea to which the benign providence of a far seeing political economy has guided his reluctant steps. Let him settle himself quietly on some low reef on the western shore, while the level beams of the setting sun transfigure the face of the Atlantic and throw a crown of glory around the summits of the old mountains. Let him listen to the echo of his own heart, and to the story of his own life in the low, sad wail of the waves. Let him listen while the tide rises quietly and stealthily up to his feet. Let him listen till his fitful Celtic spirit passes away and mingles with the wild music of the western sea.

But, in the opinion of the Commissioners, the Highland crofter is not effete. The past is not sufficiently remote, the Colonies are not sufficiently distant to justify a moment's acceptance of

any such theory. It is true that an hypothesis of this kind has more than once been advanced in the history of the present movement. But it has been advocated chiefly by peripatetic tourists who have studied Highland economics from the vantage ground of the Highland steamers at Highland piers, or by writers who on this, as on all other public questions, cater to the tastes of a certain constituency. That idleness and laziness seem at present to paralyze the Highlands, the Report not only admits but states with emphasis. That this idleness and this laziness are ineradicable, or even, in the main, the fault of the people themselves, the Report not only does not admit, but denies with emphasis. And, as the case is in the present, so it has been in the past. Writing of Sutherland in a passage quoted in the Report, Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland* (published in 1773), records this deplorable testimony:—

‘ This tract seems the residence of sloth ; the people almost torpid with idleness and most wretched . . . . Dispirited and driven to despair by bad management, crowds were now passing, emaciated with hunger, to the eastern coast, on the report of a ship being there loaden with meal. Numbers of the miserales of this country were now migrating ; they wandered in a state of desperation ; too poor to pay, they madly sell themselves for their passage, preferring a temporary bondage in a strange land to starving for life on their native soil.’

Yet these ‘ miserales ’ were the heroes of immortal renown, who, some years later, stood on the heights of Alma in that ‘ thin red line topped with steel,’ which has traced, with the point of the bayonet, one of the brightest pages in British history. These ‘ miserales ’ were ‘ Havelock’s glorious Highlanders,’ who, some years later, rescued British lives and British honour in the streets of Lucknow. These ‘ miserales ’ were the men who have helped to lay the foundations of British greatness beyond the seas, and whose sons have risen to positions of comfort and respectability, often of wealth and eminence, in every part of the empire, except ‘ in their native soil.’ That is not the kind of stuff of which effete races are made. Be the evil where it may, it does not lie in any fundamental weakness of the Highland character. If the Report has established any

thing, it has established this, and for testimony such as this, and from such a quarter, the Highland crofter has reason to be proud, and may well feel grateful.

Are we then to look for the key to the condition of the crofter in his physical environment? According to some, we have been assured that the Highlands were never intended for human habitation. The Commissioners, however, are not prepared to endorse this opinion. On the contrary, they are disposed to regard it as certain that the cause of Highland distress is to be found not altogether, nor even mainly, in the barrenness of the country. We have seen what Pennant thought of the condition of the Sutherland crofters. This is his statement regarding the district of Strathnaver in the same county:—

‘The whole of the four parishes was of old called Strathnaver, from the river Naver, which was so called, as some think, from the name of one of King Kenneth the Second’s warriors. It is a noble body of water, well stored with salmon, having many fruitful and beautiful villages on the banks of it, and is so inhabited for eighteen miles.’

So General Stewart, in writing of the Sutherland Fencibles, declares that ‘one hundred and four William Mackays, all of them from Strathnaver, were in the corps.’ And yet, according to the ‘Old Statistical Account,’ ‘very little of the parish is cultivated compared with what is lying waste and common.’ This is a picture of Strathnaver a hundred years ago. The Commissioners visited Strathnaver, but instead of ‘many fruitful and beautiful villages,’ they found a pathless wilderness. Here, indeed, the Commissioners came upon the root evil in the condition of the Highland crofters. This is the result brought out by their analysis of the influences affecting the crofter’s life. The Highland crofter does not succeed in the Highlands, but he succeeds elsewhere; the Highland crofter does not succeed in the Highlands, but others succeed there. The fault does not lie in the people; it does not, in the main, lie in the soil; it lies primarily and principally in the conditions to which the people are subjected, in the laws of the country and in the ‘rules of the estate.’ This is

the finding of the Commissioners. It is stated in these words:—

‘The principal matter of dissatisfaction in connection with the occupancy of land urged upon our notice in almost every district, with equal vehemence, and with the greatest consensus of authority, is the restriction in the area of holdings. The fact is familiar. It is notorious by common observation, and by the abundant discussion to which this question has been subjected’ (p. 10).

But the Commissioners are not satisfied with a mere reference to a ‘notorious fact.’ They prove the fact up to the hilt. In an analysis of no ordinary value they ‘submit a statistical statement, exhibiting in a simple form the distribution of the occupancy of land in certain parishes selected as examples in Sutherland and the Western Islands, parishes in which the subdivision of land on the one side and its consolidation on the other have been carried to a great, but not to an unexampled extent.’ The parishes chosen for this purpose are Farr in Sutherland, Uig in Lewis, Duirinish in Skye, and South Uist in the Long Island. Here is the result, as far as the first mentioned parish is concerned:—

‘Gross Rental, - - - - -	£10,337	8	7
Deduct—			
For five Manses and Glebes, - - -	£106	0	0
One School, - - - - -	5	0	0
Three Inns with Land, - - - - -	129	6	0
One House with Land, - - - - -	10	0	0
Four Shooting Tenants, - - - - -	2500	0	0
Six Fishing Tenants, - - - - -	1095	0	0
	<hr/>	3845	6 0
Rent of Land proper, - - - - -	£6492	2	7
Of which seven Tenants pay, - - - - -	5810	8	11
Leaving for 293 Crofters and Cottars (as per Valuation Roll), - - - - -	<hr/>	681	13 8
Of these 293, there pay over £10, and under £30, - - - - -		0	
Between £6 and £10, - - - - -		5	
Between £2 and £6, - - - - -		160	
Under £2, - - - - -		128	
Total, - - - - -	<hr/>	293	

While the highest croft,' continues the Report, 'pays £7 16s., the lowest farm stands for £290; and while two hundred and ninety-three small occupiers represent an aggregate rent of £681, a single pastoral farmer, who is not resident, holds lands of the aggregate annual value of £1688, in addition to which he has a shooting tenancy of £200 per annum, and an angling tenancy of £100. The repartition of occupancy thus represents the extremes of sub-division and consolidation; there is a striking absence of intermediate positions; the small farmer and substantial crofter disappear entirely; there is not one single holding which can afford a competent occupation and support to a small tenant labouring his land and living by it; there is a complete extinction of those graduated stations which offer an encouragement to the development of individual intelligence and industry' (p. 11).

From an abstract of results for the four parishes mentioned above, we learn that the number of crofters and cottars occupying land in these parishes is 2090. 'The statistics of occupancy do not, however,' points out the Report, 'offer a complete picture of the social aspect of the whole community in a Highland parish, as they take no account of that element in the population who have no recognised share in the soil, though they are, more or less, dependent on it for support' (p. 13). Accordingly the Report goes on to 'confront the statistics of occupancy more directly with those of population.' This is effected with great clearness in the following abstract. The census of 1881 returns the population of the selected parishes as consisting of 3226 families, and 15,816 souls.

'Of these 3226 families :—

120 represent families of proprietors, clergymen, schoolmasters, doctors, innkeepers, shop-keepers, &c., making	3·7 of the population.
15 separate shootings and fishing tenants	1·5    "
30 tenants paying over £100 rent, (including two tenants of Deer Forests)	1·9    "
140 shepherds, farm servants and other dependants of the above 30 tenants, allowing one family for every £100 of rent	4·4    "
6 tenants paying from £30 to £100 of annual rent	·2    "
56 substantial crofters paying from £10 to £30 of annual rent	1·7    "



256 medium crofters paying from £6 to £10 of annual rent	8·0	„
1778 poor crofters and superior cottars paying less than £6 annual rent	55·0	„
825 unaccounted for, but who must be placed among the landless cottars and squatters	25·6	„
<hr/> 3226	<hr/> 100·0	(p. 14).

It would be difficult to convey a more vivid and truthful impression of the actual condition of the Highlands than is given by these eloquent figures. We talk of improvidence and laziness; we bring a 'railing accusation' against the soil and against the climate; at the same time we consolidate the best land in the country in the hands of a few tenants, some of them absentees, and we coop up eighty per cent. of the population on wretched patches of land where sloth and improvidence and misery and semi-starvation are physical necessities; and then we prate of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'

'It is deplorable,' says the Report, 'that out of 3091 families there are only six who are occupiers of that class of small farms which are the prizes to which an industrious or fortunate crofter might naturally aspire; while only 312, or little more than one-tenth of the whole number are provided with holdings which can, in some measure, afford substantial occupation and sustenance to a labouring family. Below these, 1778 are in possession of tenancies which imply a divided and desultory form of occupation, unfavourable to the development of settled and progressive exertion; and at the bottom of the social scale, 825 families, comprising more than one-fourth of the population, are without land and without regular access to local wages, most of them, it may be assumed, scattered among the poorest sort of occupiers, to whom they are a heavy burden. Side by side with this mingled multitude, so slenderly furnished with the means of life, we find 30 occupiers, forming less than one per cent. of the whole community, in the occupancy of nearly two-thirds of the land. These 30 include a factor, a few proprietors, and some non-resident tenants' (p. 14).

Truly the notorious fact has been fully established. There are other influences which press upon the life of the Highland crofter, but the leading causes of distress are in the main dependent on, or closely connected with, this central evil.

Their effect is to intensify the poverty which the consolidation of the land renders inevitable. These evils are specified as 'insecurity of tenure, want of compensation for improvement, high rents, defective communications, withdrawal of the soil in connection with the purposes of sport.'

These, then, are the causes of the crofter's poverty. The land on which he lives could not afford him the means of subsistence, not to say of comfort, even if held on the most favourable conditions; then, again, insufficient as the land he holds is, it may be lost to him on the shortest notice; he knows not what the morrow may bring forth; the only rational economic theory for him is *carpe diem*; to-day he may toil and spin, but to-morrow he may find in his own mouth words similar in meaning to those of the exiled Mantuan—

'Ite, meae felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.'

Further, he has not hitherto had any legal right to the rewards of his industry. He may have created a croft out of waste moorland, but it does not necessarily follow that he has created a product of industry for himself; it only necessarily follows that he has created rent for the landlord.

Such is the condition of the people. It remains to be seen by what remedies the Commissioners propose to effect a permanent improvement. The reforms advocated follow necessarily from the results of the Commissioners' inquiry. If it had been found that the Highlands could not maintain men, or that the men of the Highlands could not maintain themselves on land; then, indeed, it would have been the duty of the Commissioners to homologate the policy of the past, to vindicate the clearances, to justify eviction, and to declare that the only hope for the crofters of to-day, as for those of sixty years ago, lies in emigration or in shell-fish. But neither of these conditions has been established. On the contrary, both have been negatived, not only by 'notorious facts' and by 'the greatest consensus of authority,' but also by the inexorable evidence of representative and irrefragable statistics.

The future, then, still holds out some hope to the crofter. If his poverty is mainly due to the laws of the country, and to the

'rules of the estate,' it is clear the laws and the rules require to be altered. The recommendation of the Commissioners is that this be done. Their proposal is to bring about a reconstruction of Highland society. The Report declares that the cry of the people for 'more land' should be granted, and that the policy of the clearances should be reversed. The Commissioners see in the latter 'the deplorable effects of economical theories.' The large farms, those enormous tracts of land extending over tens of thousands of acres, they suggest ought to be broken down, and the people restored to the land of their fathers. This is the central idea of the Commissioners' recommendations. The fact deserves careful notice. There are certain questions of reform regarding which there is a diversity of opinion within the Commission, but there is no diversity of opinion regarding the imperative duty of giving the people more land. On this point the voice of the Commission is unanimous.

The plan by which the Report proposes to work out the industrial and social regeneration of the Highland crofter is elaborated in great detail in the idea of 'The Township.' So far as we have observed this scheme has not been received with favour. It has been stigmatized as retrograde, socialistic and illusory. On the other hand, it has been denounced with equal vigour, as timid and half-hearted. It has altogether failed to satisfy the more advanced advocates of Highland Land Law Reform, and it has utterly disgusted the economists. But perhaps the agitators look down on the economical cosmos from a point too near the zenith of ideal perfection to admit of sound practical conclusions regarding immediate needs; and, on the other hand, it is just possible that there are views of human progress and human destiny, of national duty and popular rights, which are hardly discernible from the low level of traditional economics. Those who wish to secure substantial benefits to the crofter, and are prepared to advocate just and temperate legislation, who, while anxious that the rights of the people should be thoroughly vindicated, and equally anxious that the rights of proprietors should be conserved, in the fullest degree, will not regard the idea of the township

with less, but rather with greater favour, because it has failed to win the applause of partizan theorists of whatever sect. It must be remembered, however, that the township scheme has met with but a somewhat cold reception from many who are not partizans. Men of moderate views and undoubted sympathy with the popular cause have spoken of it with hesitation and doubt, and it behoves us, therefore, to examine the conception of the Highland township on its own merits.

The principle of the scheme may be stated in a few words. It recommends an individual occupancy of arable land, with a common occupancy of pasture.

The origin of this idea has greatly taxed the ingenuity of the critics. Some fancied they saw in it a result of special acquaintance with the customs of the Indian ryots; others found its prototype in the rural economy of Russia; to some the 'Continental Commune' formed a broad and safe reference; while, in the opinion of not a few, the idea had sprung full-armed from the head of the Jupiter of the Commission.

In view of the variety of opinions to the contrary, it may appear strange that the Highland township is no mere dream of the future, but has been for centuries, and is still 'a reality in the habits of the people,' a reality which 'could not now be set at nought without arousing public resentment and opposition' (p. 18). It possesses 'a distinct existence in the sentiments and traditions of its component members, and by the customs of estate management' (p. 17). Hence it is accepted as in fact, and made 'the basis of operation.' The belief is entertained that its organization, 'however rudimentary, contains latent capacities which are worthy of being studied and developed, and that by this instrumentality some evils may be prevented, and some benefits conferred, which, at the present stage of economic progress in the districts concerned, could not be prevented or conferred with the same efficacy by dealing with individual interests apart' (p. 18). The degree of development reached in the township of the present varies 'from the licence of a Shetland scathald to the systematic economy of a well managed club farm.' 'The township is, in many cases, represented by its own officer, nominated by the proprietor, or elected by the

tenants; sometimes by two such officers of either derivation, who are entitled constables, and are employed in the matters of common concern' (p. 17). The election of the constable affords an interesting glimpse of the life of the people, and is besides suggestive in another connection. 'When a constable is to be elected for the townland,' says Mr. Carmichael in his account of the township,

'The people meet, and this and all kindred meetings are called Nabac, "neighbourliness." If presided over by the Maor the meeting is called Mod, Moot.

'If the people meet during the day they probably meet at a place locally known as Cocr-na-Comhairle—the "Council Hill," or Clach-na-Comhairle—the "Council Stone." If they meet at night, they meet in some central house on the farm. Almost invariably these meetings are held at night, so as to avoid losing time during the day. The meetings are orderly and interesting. Not unfrequently the man proposed for the constableness by his fellow-crofters of the Townland declines the office. Then another is proposed, and perhaps, with like result. Ultimately the people may have to cast lots all round before they get a man among themselves to accept the office, the duties of which are distasteful to them. . . . The crofter having been appointed constable, takes off his shoes and stockings. Uncovering his head, he bows his head reverently low, and promises in presence of heaven and earth, in presence of God and of men,—*am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis De agus daoine*,—that he will be faithful to his trust. In some places the elected constable takes up a handful of earth instead of uncovering his feet. The object is the same—to emphasise, by bodily contact with the earth, that he is conscious of being made of earth, to which he returns' (p. 453).

It will be felt that this account possesses more than a merely ethnological interest. It conveys a significant economical lesson. It affords a striking example of a spontaneous tendency to co-operation. This tendency is probably a relic of the clan system—a historical development persisting in spite of disintegrating influences, and adapting itself to new conditions. It reveals itself in a variety of forms. Here is another illustration given by Mr. Carmichael:—

'A curious custom prevails among the people of Barra of apportioning their boats to their fishing banks at sea, much as they apportion their cows to their grazing ground at home. The names, positions, extent, character-

istics and capabilities of these banks are as well known to them as those of their crofts.

'The people meet at church on the 1st day of February—Gaelic, *La Fheill Bride*—the Festival of Saint Bridget; and having ascertained among themselves the number of boats engaged in the long line fishing, they assign those boats in proportionate numbers among the banks, according to the fishing capabilities of each bank. The men then draw lots, each head man drawing the lot for his crew, and then the boats are assigned to their respective banks for the season. . . .

'Having completed their ballot, the fishermen go into church accompanied by father and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children and sweethearts. The good priest says a short service, wherein he commends those "who go down to the sea in ships" to the protection of the Holy Saint Barr, after whom Barra is named, of the beautiful Saint Bridget, "virgin of a thousand charms." *Bride bhoidheach oigh nam mile beus*, in whose festival they are met, of their loved mother, the golden-haired virgin, and to the protection, collectively and individually, of the Holy Trinity. The people disperse chanting:—

'Athair, a mhic, a spioraid naoimh,  
Biodh au Tri-aon leinn, a la's a dhoidhche  
'S air chul nan tonn, no air thaobh nam beann  
Bith'dh ar Mathair leinn 's bith'dh A lamh mu'r ceann  
Bith'dh ar Mathair leinn 's bith'dh A lamh mu'r ceann.'

'Father, Son and Spirit's might!  
Be the Three-in-one with us day and night;  
On the crested wave, when waves run high,  
Oh! Mother! Mary! be to us nigh.  
Oh! Mother! Mary! be to us nigh'" (p. 457).

It is clear that the people who use these picturesque customs live in an ethical and economical atmosphere far removed from that impregnated by the favourite commercial theories of *laissez faire* and competition. Voluntary co-operation for mutual benefits is not unnatural for a Highland crofter, any more than it is unnatural for a British merchant to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.

It thus appears that the organization of the Highland Township, whatever the value of that organization may be, is entirely indigenous,—a product of the past life of the people, and an illustration of a deep-seated and far-reaching race characteristic.



The principle of the Township presents two phases—individual occupancy and common occupancy. The crofter is to be the sole occupier of a certain area of arable land, and the joint occupier of so much pasture. The second of these conditions is the *questio vexata* of the Report. This need excite no wonder. In the present condition of thought in this country any other result would simply imply contradiction. Have we not been taught from our youth that the dear *ego* is the centre of the social system, that its claims are paramount? With this system of ethics, are not *laissez faire*, and competition, the only sound principles of economics? Is not selfishness a profound fact in human nature; and will not the individual, whether on the Stock Exchange or on a Highland croft, fight the battle of life most bravely when, like Hal o' the Wynd, he is fighting 'for his own hand'? And so the idea of joint occupancy is condemned as an economical heresy, and as a baneful though well-intentioned delusion. The Commissioners have not felt called upon to justify their scheme by an appeal to general principles. They ground their position on the practical necessities of the case.

'To the project which has been submitted above, . . . it may be objected by some that it is of a retrogressive character, inasmuch as it proposes to sanction by law a system of common occupation, a form of land tenure which has almost everywhere given way before the gradual introduction of individualized industry and occupancy. To this it is replied that pasture is indispensable to the small tenant in most parts of the Highlands and Islands, the soil and climate being such that he can never depend on cereal cultivation alone, either for rent or sustenance, while the areas requisite for the grazing of cattle and especially of sheep, are so vast, and the surface so rugged that numerous enclosures are impracticable. The choice is thus not between separate pasture and common pasture, but between common pasture and none' (p. 31).

This reply is unanswerable. Even Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, the kindest of proprietors, who would solve the problem by increasing the number of farms with individual holdings, must know that on his own Gairloch estate the cost of fencing the pasture ground of each small farm would be such as to render the scheme impracticable. The farms would need to be so

large that the country, if the occupiers of these farms were the only inhabitants, would be desolate.

We now pass from the idea of the Township to the conditions of its existence.

The Township of the past 'has never possessed any corporate existence in the law of Scotland. It has been, so far as the law is concerned, simply a farm or part of a farm, occupied in common or in division by several tenants' (p. 17). Thus it has depended for its very existence on the favour of the proprietor. It has lacked the conditions of healthy life and free development. If it were contemplated that the Township of the future should be what the Township of the past has been, then indeed would there be an end to all hopes of any satisfactory solution of the Highland question. As things are, an improvement in the crofters' condition can only be brought about by an improvement in the organization of the Township. Such an improvement is what the Report proposes to effect. The hopes for the future are 'found in the recognition of the Highland Township as a distinct agricultural area or unit, endowing it at the same time with certain immunities and powers by which it may attain stability, improvement and expansion' (p. 17).

The Township conceived by the Commissioners is one possessed of an acknowledged corporate existence; it is an organism invested with a full legal recognition of the right to live. This implies much. It means that the Township is to have a right to demand the means of existence. If this can be secured by amicable arrangement with the landlord, so much the better: if it cannot be so secured, then the Township will be in a position to attain its objects by an appeal to law. This is a great concession, and embodies a principle of outstanding importance. It marks the highest level reached in the recommendations of the Report, and states a condition of such potency that, without it, the idea of the Township would be fruitless, while, with it, it is rich in possibilities of great results.

Still we must not overlook the true nature of the principle here conceded. It empowers the Township to enforce the

landlord's co-operation. This is indeed an economical heresy of the most alarming kind. There is no cause for wonder if we find Mr. Cameron of Lochiel dissenting from his colleagues, and declaring that 'the powers proposed to be given to Township in its corporate capacity are so extensive that they practically amount to almost absolute ownership' (p. 122). If the idea of compulsory co-operation is to be introduced into the relations of landlord and tenant, there is clearly an end of freedom of contract; and if the landlord will not be allowed to make his own terms with his tenants, we shall hear no more of competition. But are not freedom of contract and competition two of the strong pillars of British commerce? Have they not helped to raise us up on high among the nations? Truly, in comparison with the revolutionary potentiality of this conception, the idea of common pasture is contemptibly innocent.

The Commissioners here, as elsewhere, seek to vindicate their proposal by a simple appeal to the condition of the country. They justify it on grounds of social urgency and political expediency. This is the kind of argument for which we look in Parliamentary Blue-Books. We do not expect Royal Commissioners to investigate the *quid juris* of their proposals by means of a sustained philosophical process. And yet we may rest assured that the country will demand a deeper and more solid basis than temporary expediency for a great measure of reform. The popular intelligence and the popular conscience will look for a vindication of the rights of the proposed measure on grounds of reason. In the case in question this feeling will be precipitated by the objections of the economists, and thus controversy will become inevitable. Land reformers will, in this way, be challenged to disprove the validity of those theories which,—at least in their present interpretation and application,—they refuse to accept; and to decline this challenge is to acknowledge defeat. And so there arises the necessity for a systematic enquiry into the nature and merits of our economic principles. Yet this enquiry, if regarded simply as an economical enquiry, is one which, from its very nature, is destined to failure. For the discussion relates to the very grounds of economic science, and this is a

question which economic science is unable to examine. Every science necessarily accepts its principles on trust from some higher science to which it is subsidiary, and to enter upon a critical analysis of them is to transcend its own limits. Thus the moment economics begins to enquire into its own titles, it rises above its own sphere, and finds itself in the domain of ethics. But no sooner does economics discover around it the serener sky of morals than its hopes of victory begin to fade. For ethics, more especially at the hands of its more distinguished exponents of recent years,—at the hands of our Carlyles, our Ruskins, and our Emersons,—has shown a decided tendency to discredit economics. The nobler science has looked askance at its own degenerate offspring, as at a base-minded daughter who has entered into an unholy alliance with the Mammon of unrighteousness.

Nor has the protest against the consequences of economic theories come to us only from the exoteric utterances of ordinary ethics. It comes with ever-increasing distinctness and vehemence, from two other different, and, in a sense, opposite quarters. In the first place, the moral sense of the country has been profoundly shocked by the practical consequences of the doctrines in which we have placed so much faith. We see around us a profusion of wealth and luxury unequalled in the world. Side by side with this, see a depth of human want, and human suffering, and human degradation, that cannot be sounded. We have invoked the grim genius of competition, and it has done its work. The strong have succeeded, and the weak have gone to the wall. And so we hear the moralists reminding us, with burning irony, of the 'survival of the fittest.' We have laid up our faith, with glad confidence, in the magic formula of freedom of contract, and at the same time we have handicapped the contracting parties with social, and with political, and with industrial inequalities which make the name of freedom a cruel mockery. We look at the results of our much vaunted economic theories, and we instinctively turn away our eyes with pain and shame. The Commissioners write in full knowledge of, and in just sympathy with, this popular movement. They characterize the consequences resulting from

the policy of the clearances as 'deplorable.' They acknowledge that a similar policy would be regarded now with public reprobation, and they declare that 'eviction and depopulation have done their lamented work, and have passed away for ever.'

In the second place, our egoistic economics is gradually losing the support not only of popular feeling, but also of speculative thought. The revulsion has become general; it sets in from every quarter of the philosophical compass. We find its grounds in the benevolence theory of J. S. Mill, in the altruism of Herbert Spencer, in the *solidarité* of the French Positivists, and in the universalism of German thought. The vitality of the present movement is indicated by the earnestness with which those systems which accept the principle of universalism in the deepest and broadest sense are being examined. The amount of Kantian and Hegelian literature which has been issued from the British press during the last few years is altogether unparalleled.

Now the tendency of this mood of thought is to place my *ego* side by side with the *ego* of my neighbour; and, in doing so, to abstract from all purely private considerations, and to concentrate all the efforts of thought on the conception of the *ego* as such. In this act, all merely selfish relations and interests are transcended, and my own *ego* and that of my neighbour,—my own good, and that of my neighbour,—my own true life, and the true life of my neighbour, are found to be essentially identical. And thus a conflict of interests ceases. The golden dream of the poet becomes theoretically realised, for—

'All men find their own in all men's good,  
And all are joined in noble brotherhood.'

Thus the direction of the movement is from the fretting clamour of the individual to the divine repose of the universal. Self-seeking and over-reaching are seen to be unworthy, in comparison with the noble dignity of a moral life.

From this point of view, freedom of contract and competition, in so far as they secure the prosperity of one man at the expense of that of another, are grossly immoral; and our

economic theories can be applied only under sanctions and limitations imposed by moral law and enforced by the law of the land. Thus the verdict of speculative thought reflects and justifies the generous impulse of popular feeling.

It may well be felt that against the irresistible advance of tendencies of this kind, the petulant protest of our traditional economists are as futile as Mrs. Partington's famous efforts to beat back the rising tide. Nor are there any, either among thinkers or among the people, who more frankly and intelligently accept the higher teachings of our time than some of the leading economists themselves. Professor Laveleye of Liege, addressing the students of Edinburgh University at the recent Tercentenary Festival, used these memorable words:

'It is beyond doubt that the profound work of decomposition and of reconstruction agitates society even to its very foundation. . . . Formerly the solution of the social problem was very simple. On the one side there was the counsel of ascetic charity—Give alms. On the other side orthodox political economy said to you—The world goes of itself. When every one is free to pursue his own interest, the general good is realised. . . . But how to approach this problem now? Permit me to tell you in two words what I think of it. Open on the one side, on the left, the economists, Adam Smith and Stuart Mill; but on the other side, on the right, open the Gospel; and, if there is disagreement, follow above all the Gospel. Recall to yourselves that admirable and profound word of Jesus, which would put an end to our miseries and our discords, if it were listened to. "Seek ye first righteousness, and the rest shall be added to you."

The Highland question is simply a phase of this profound social problem which is facing every country within the civilized world, and the solution must, in its general principles, be the same in the one case as in the other. The tendency of present-day legislation,—of legislation animated by the spirit of the movements to which we have referred, by an earnest desire to solve, so far as may be, the great industrial question of the day,—is to define the rights of the weak, and to protect these rights against the possibility of encroachment by the strong. The concession to the Highland crofters of compulsory powers to assert these rights would be simply an illustration and natural consequence of that tendency.



Armed then, and justly armed, with compulsory powers, the Township is enabled to assert its life with vigour. It can enforce the landlord's co-operation in carrying out improvements, in making roads and bridges, and in erecting dykes and fences. In particular, it can call on the landlord for the extension of its boundaries. In the event of his refusal, the tenantry can appeal to the Sheriff; and if, in his opinion, the township is overcrowded, the landlord will be compelled to concede the people's request. Such are the means devised for the conservation and extension of existing townships.

But the Commissioners could not forget that in many cases the best land in the country is separated by a distance of many miles from all existing townships. If the Report contained no provisions for the restoration of this land to the people, it would have been inconsistent with its own spirit, and it would have altogether failed to develop one of the most hopeful anticipations of Highland Land Law Reform. If the reconstruction of Highland society is to be a reality, townships must be planted in the very heart of regions now surrendered to sheep farms, or devoted to the purposes of sport. Nothing short of this can effect the end in view. The Commissioners seem to have fully realised this fact; but they do not seem to have fully realised its consequences. They shrink from the idea of applying compulsion to the creation of new townships. Their hope is, that under the persuasive influence of present economic conditions and cheap loans, the landlords will spontaneously form new townships. Sheep farms, it is pointed out, have enormously decreased in value. Public opinion will not sanction the wholesale conversion of these into deer forests. Proprietors will thus, in self interest, feel disposed to come to terms with small tenants. The movement needs only the impulse of government assistance. A loan of public money at 3 per cent. would set the machinery of progress in motion. We regret we feel less sanguine than the Commissioners. In our opinion, the welfare and the rights of the people are too sacred a trust to be reposed on the shifting sand of present economic conditions, and the self-interest of proprietors. We do not doubt that, in some cases, the means contem-

plated would secure the end in view; but neither do we doubt that, in the same cases, that end is being, to a great extent, secured already. It may be doubted whether the country will be disposed to commit the Highland peasants in the future, as they have been committed in the past, to the kindly protection of proprietors. The State may well demand some guarantee that the means of material progress are placed within reach of the people. Nor will any guarantee be considered satisfactory which does not make distinct provision for the restoration to the people of those tracts of land which are best fitted to maintain them. If compulsion be justifiable at all, it is surely justifiable in those very cases in which its application would prove most beneficial. It is, indeed, difficult to see why the landlord should be compelled to let lands which happen to march with the Township, while he is at full liberty to refuse more suitable lands which do not happen to march with the Township. A geographical detail cannot justly play such an important part in determining the relations of landlord and tenant. The extension of compulsion to the formation of new Townships seems the logical issue of the principles of reform developed in the Report; it seems to indicate a powerful means of permanently improving the condition of the people; and it seems also to afford to the crofters, and to the country the only possible security against the actions of a proprietor who may have little or no sympathy with the aspirations of the peasantry.

The parts of the Report dealing with fixity of tenure and compensation for improvement are likely to meet with general acceptance. The discussion of these questions has proceeded on lines with which we have now become familiar. In the opinion of the Commissioners, a reasonable tenure of holdings, and compensation for improvements, can best be secured by means of improving leases. This view has not always found favour with Highland Land Law reformers. For years prior to the passing of the Irish Land Act, it had been consistently and persistently maintained by some writers on Highland affairs, that the right of the people to live on their native soil was based on a deeper ground than that afforded by any

covenant. Reference was made to the old tribal tenure, to the peculiar customs of the country, and to the prerogatives of chieftainship asserted in the recent past by some proprietors. To accept leaseholds would be at once to concede a principle, and to increase the perils of eviction. On these grounds the people have been dissuaded from seeking to take advantage of this form of tenure. These views receive just and considerate treatment at the hands of the Commissioners. It is admitted that the opinion 'that the small tenantry of the Highlands have an inherited, inalienable title to security of tenure is an impression indigenous to the country' (p. 8). Evidence is quoted in support of this view from writers of the eighteenth century. Further, the Report considers it difficult to be denied 'that one who gave a son to his landlord eighty years ago to fill up the ranks of a Highland Regiment, did morally acquire a tenure in his holding, more sacred than the stipulations of a written covenant' (p. 9). 'Few will affirm,' it is said, 'that the descendant in possession of such a man should even now be regarded by the hereditary landlord in the same light as a labourer living in a lowland village' (p. 9). Still the Commissioners feel 'bound to express the opinion that a claim to security of tenure founded on the old usage of the country cannot now be seriously entertained' (p. 8). At the same time they do not consider it 'surprising that the tradition of a lapsed privilege should be preserved; for,' adds the Report, and the addition is significant, 'it may be made the basis of a claim of material value' (p. 9). To anticipate and satisfy this claim, the Commissioners propose the scheme of the improving lease.

'We have no hesitation in affirming,' declares the Report, 'that to grant, at this moment, to the whole mass of poor tenants in the Highlands and Islands fixity of tenure in their holdings, uncontrolled management of these holdings, and free sale of their tenant-right, good-will, and improvements, would be to perpetuate social evils of a dangerous character. It would in some districts accelerate the subdivision and exhaustion of the soil, promote the reckless increase of the people, aggravate the indigence, squalor, and lethargy which too much abound already, and multiply the contingencies of destitution and famine which even now recur from time to time, and are ever impending. The proper basis for agricultural improvement in the crofting districts, we deem to lie in the right of a respectable and competent occupier to claim from the owner an improving lease' (p. 33).

It is proposed that the privilege of claiming such a lease should be granted to 'every occupier in a township not in arrear of rent, and paying £6, or more, of annual rent' (p. 36). This privilege would not by any means be an empty one. The landlord would not be at liberty to refuse an improving lease to a tenant of good character; the tenure of the lease would extend over thirty years; and rent would be fixed by arbitration, instead of by competition. On the other hand, occupiers would be bound down to carry out permanent improvements at a certain prescribed rate. Again, at the end of the lease, the amount of compensation due to the tenant would be settled by the award of arbiters, and this amount would be paid over to the tenant, whether he continued in his holding or not. Further, the occupier, if he should desire to continue in his holding, would—although on this point the statements in the Report are somewhat conflicting—have a right to demand a new improving lease.

It will probably be held by those who have opposed leaseholds on principle, that the Highland crofters should not sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage, even of the 'material value' promised by the Commissioners' scheme. But the people in the Highlands, as elsewhere, will probably consider that a righteous claim, far from being surrendered, has only been placed on a firmer basis, when its merits have been examined and settled on grounds of common justice.

Much has been said of late in favour of the gradual introduction of a peasant proprietary into the Highlands. Elaborate accounts have been volunteered by men who have enquired on the spot into the practical effects of the system, and who seem generally to have found things much as they expected to find them. The Commissioners have wisely refrained from submitting all the conflicting evidence of travellers in foreign countries, to the test of an inductive process. But they had the good fortune to find within the district submitted to their enquiry, and under conditions similar to those under which a peasant proprietary would exist in any other part of the Highlands, a significant illustration of the system. The prosperity of the lairds of Harray offered a striking contrast to the want and misery met with elsewhere by the Commissioners. Among them, at least, the peasant proprietary system

has proved an unqualified success. With this fact before them, and in view, perhaps, of the tendencies of legislation in connection with other parts of the empire, the Commissioners have proposed a scheme for the purchase by the occupier of his holding. It will probably be felt that the conditions of purchase are such as to defeat the object aimed at by the Commissioners. That, however, is a question of detail. The important fact is that the Report recommends Parliament to make provision for the introduction of a peasant proprietary into the Highlands.

In their endeavour to embrace the whole crofting population within their scheme of reform, the Commissioners have to confess that they have to a certain extent failed. A general redistribution of land among the people by a simple application of the rule of three,—although something of this kind appears to have been advocated by some,—is not a solution of the Highland question, which will commend itself to any one possessing the most rudimentary acquaintance with the conditions of human progress. It need not be said that the prospect of any such scheme receiving legal sanction in this country is fortunately hopeless. In view probably of circumstances such as these, it has appeared to the Commissioners that a not inconsiderable proportion of the landless crofters must remain landless still. But the interests of this class have not been overlooked. Facilities for emigration are suggested; and the scheme proposed for the development of the fishing industry, is, in some respects, so radical and would involve such an outlay of public money, without, perhaps, a reasonable prospect of an adequate return, that it seems doubtful whether it will, in its present form, command the support of the tax-paying public. While this is so, and while any levelling process with regard to the area of holdings in the Highlands, is altogether to be deprecated, it will no doubt appear to many that the Commissioners, acting perhaps under a wise, but probably over-anxious fear of unduly restricting the rights of proprietors, have signally failed, in one or two directions, in indicating all that seems desirable towards the restoration of the land to the people. For although the tendency to the afforestation of land has become so serious that, in the opinion of the Commissioners, it ought to be arrested by Act of Parliament, still no adequate pro-

posal is advanced for breaking down existing deer forests. Again, although proprietors, whose ancestors have preserved the people, perhaps under circumstances of great difficulty, and solely in recognition of the responsibility inseparable from ownership in land, and who would themselves, by family tradition, be most likely to deal in a kindly and liberal spirit with their tenants,—although these proprietors are to be restricted, and justly restricted, by limitations indicating the people's rights; still other proprietors, from whose land the people have been swept away, are to be exempted from all such conditions.

It is no doubt true that, in many cases, Highland estates have passed from those who carried out the evictions, and are now in the possession of other proprietors. It will be urged that, in view of this fact, it would be altogether unjust to compel a proprietor to make room for crofters from a neighbouring estate. We recognise the difficulty. The great function of statesmen, however, is to remove difficulties of this kind. Nor can it be maintained for a moment that the difficulty is insurmountable so long as the State is in a position to grant just compensation to the proprietor for any loss he may sustain, or, indeed, to remove all complications, once for all, by offering the market price for the property.

When we look back on the scheme of society conceived by the Commissioners, and compare it with the society now found in the North, we discover a contrast which is nearly absolute. In the Highland society of to-day, we have the extremes of inequality. On the one hand, we have enormous sheep farms, enormous deer forests, enormous properties; on the other hand, there is the "mingled multitude" which the Commissioners declare to be "so slenderly furnished with the means of life." Between these extremes there is scarcely any connecting link. But in the scheme of Highland society submitted to us by the Commissioners there is a regular gradation of classes. We have the cottar fisherman, the leasehold crofter, the small farmer, and the peasant proprietor, we have the more substantial farmer and the large farmer, we have fishing tenants and tenants of deer forests, and we have proprietors of all grades.

Such is the conception of Highland Land Law Reform de-



veloped in the report. It is a conception which has originated in an intelligent study of existing organisations; a conception which is at once broad and statesmanlike, and, at the same time, just and moderate in its spirit; a conception which harmonizes both with the aspirations of the people and with the tendencies of the age; and, finally, a conception which, to the Highland crofter, is full of bright promise of a happier future, in which sloth has given way to industry, want to prosperity, and agitation to loyal contentment. The men whose deeds of fidelity to chiefs and to princes are so full of pathos, who have always been only too prone to place absolute faith in those whom they have regarded as their leaders,—these men are still as true at heart, and are still as ready to be devoted in action, to the idea of law, and to the emblems of authority, and to the persons of rulers, as they have ever been. The peasantry of the Highlands have endured long, and they have endured well. Under ‘want and stripes’ they have remained silent; and if, at last, they have spoken with courage and determination, they have spoken also—at least from their own lips and from the lips of those in whom they trust—with self-restraint and with moderation. Nor can we reasonably doubt, if just concessions are made to their demands and the means of self-help placed within their reach, that their industrial success in their own country will be as assured as it has been in foreign countries, and that their sterling worth will prove as substantial in the ways of peace as it has already proved in times of peril and on the field of battle.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*Christian Beliefs Considered in the Light of Modern Thought.*

By the Rev. GEO. HENSLOW, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. London: Frederick Norgate. 1884.

It is refreshing to come across a work like this when we are being deluged with books that pretend to show us how Faith can be reconciled with Science, or the belief in the scientific and historical accuracy of the Bible with the conclusions to which modern science has come, or is coming. These books are, for the most part, written by the veriest amateurs in science, whose elaborate labours are too often a mere beating of the air. The Rev. Geo. Henslow is, however, both a scientist and a theologian, and in both departments a master. He is thoroughly acquainted with the methods of scientific investigation, and with the results to which they have led. In the work before us he brings Christian beliefs—not all, but several of the principal—into the full light of these results, and does not shrink from the modifications they demand or impose. He deals first with the story of the Creation; next with that of the Fall; and then with that of the Curse that followed it; after which he passes to consider some of the more specifically Christian doctrines; as, *e.g.*, Salvation and Damnation, Atonement, Faith, Regeneration, etc. In the first four chapters of his book he discusses the biblical narratives at the beginning of Genesis, traces their origin, and points out their spiritual and ethical or religious value. They are not histories, he maintains, but current myths or fancies, transformed to suit the inspired purpose of their several writers. What he says about the popular conceptions of Salvation, Damnation, the Atonement, Faith, etc., is rather an exposition of the teaching of Scripture on these points than a scientific treatment of them, though in each case he traces the doctrines to their genesis in human thought and human need, and shows how, when rightly stated, they answer to the requirements of reason and the true teaching of Christ. Were we required to select any specimens of Mr. Henslow's treatment of these subjects, we should not know which to take, for every chapter is so rich in interesting information, and every paragraph so logically connected with the preceding, that we could hardly decide which would best give a fair, not to speak of an adequate, idea of the author's views, of the light he sheds on all he touches, of the vigour and lucidity of his style, or of the truly Christian spirit that breathes in every line he writes. We recommend our readers to procure the volume, and are sure that none will take it up without reading it through with increasing pleasure and profit. It is not

a large book ; it contains only twelve all too short chapters, but our readers will find in it more light and comfort than in dozens of more pretentious volumes of a so-called apologetic character.

*The Doctrine of Divine Love; Outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church.* By ERNEST SARTORIUS, D.D.  
Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884.

In Germany this work has long enjoyed a very high reputation. Whether it will obtain as many readers here as it has had, and still has there, is a question we should scarcely like to answer. Our hope is that it will. The theology by which it is pervaded is thoroughly evangelical. Speculative in any degree it is not. Dr. Sartorius writes from an evangelical point of view, and for the simple purpose of exhibiting the moral teaching of the Evangelical Church. This, of course, necessitates a pretty full statement of the leading doctrines of evangelical theology, and considered from the point of view from which Dr. Sartorius writes, his statement is thoroughly satisfactory. By some it may be regarded as too conservative, and as based for the most part upon untenable interpretations. Dr. Sartorius is quite alive, however, to the forward movement in theology, and to the 'results' of the new schools of criticism and exegesis, but refuses both to go along with the former, and to accept the latter. As might almost be expected, his pages are here and there tinged with mysticism. But whatever may be thought of his theology and exegesis, the morality he deduces from the doctrine of divine love is of the very purest and noblest kind. A beneficence similar to, or rather identical with, the Saviour's, in origin, aim, and works, is the morality he inculcates. The second part of the volume in which this is more particularly insisted upon, is to our mind much the more valuable. It is full of beautiful thinking, and is well calculated to correct many errors. The section on 'uniting love' is rich in evangelical truth, and exhibits with great fulness and power the essential principle of the practical teaching of the New Testament.

*The Public Ministry and Pastoral Methods of our Lord.* By W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1883.

Until very recently our Scottish Churches (and they were unfortunately by no means singular in this) never thought of giving to their students preparing for the office of the Ministry any instruction on 'Pastoral Methods'—on the practical work, that is, which was so largely to occupy them when in office, and on the wise and efficient discharge of which their usefulness mainly depends. This *desideratum* has now, however, been in some measure supplied. There is no provision for it in the Theological Faculties of our Universities, and it would seem that the professors in these

Faculties are already so overburdened with the laborious duties of their respective chairs, that they cannot, either gratuitously, or for such remuneration as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland can afford, undertake this additional work. The Assembly has consequently been driven to appoint special lecturers, and from the ranks of her city and rural clergy, to discharge this duty. We do not know whether it is because these men have so little to do in comparison with our theological professors, or solely because of their large and ever increasing experience of pastoral work. It is unfortunate, however, that more than one of those already appointed have forgotten the special subject on which they were expected to lecture, and have aired instead their favourite 'hobbies,' or discoursed on the subjects most dear to them, however wide apart they were from 'pastoral theology.' In the Free Church the duty seems to be imposed on one of the theological professors at their several Colleges, and for the object in view this arrangement, judging from results, is decidedly the best. The volume before us is in substance the lectures delivered on 'Pastoral Theology and Methods,' to his students, by Professor Blaikie of the New College, Edinburgh. It forms a sequel to an earlier course delivered by him, and published under the title of 'The Work of the Ministry,'—a work which has been received with so much general favour, that it has become the text-book of this branch of instruction in several theological schools, both in this country and America. The work before us is almost certain to be received with equal favour—at least, by that large section of the religious public which gave so hearty a welcome to its predecessor. Dr. Blaikie certainly could not have taken his students to the feet of a better Master in pastoral theology, nor pointed to a better example of pastoral methods than he does in these lectures. His method of exposition too, is excellent. He takes his hearers to the beginning of our Lord's public ministry, or rather, to the period of his preparation for it, and starting from there conducts them through the course of that ministry, bringing out at every stage the lessons bearing on ministerial qualifications and ministerial work with which the various incidents and sayings of Jesus in the Gospels are charged. Not that Dr. Blaikie gives a running commentary on the four Gospels as they have been handed down to us. He groups the matter on which he bases his instruction with admirable tact and precision, and never forgets that the one end before him is to show the Master's qualifications as a teacher, and his methods of instructing and influencing those with whom he came into contact, so as to impress us with a sense of their value as secrets of success. However much one may differ from the writer in his hard and fast adhesion to the traditionary views as to the origin, and authorship, and historic worth of every book of Scripture, it is hardly possible to read any part of his volume without feeling enriched with fuller, clearer, and more inspiring conceptions of Christ's greatness as a Teacher and Example to his Church, or acquiring more lofty ideas of the ministerial character and work. Its perusal will profit not Divinity

Students only, but all the Clergy, and, in fact, all who are engaged in any branch of Christian service.

*St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit.* The BAIRD Lectures for 1883. By W. P. DICKSON, D.D. Glasgow : J. Maclehose & Sons. 1883.

We cannot say that this is a very popular work, or that it is one which is likely to attract a large circle of readers. Those who read or attempt to read it will, we fear, be few and far between. A few enthusiastic theologians, or some of the learned author's many students, may take it up and find pleasure in its perusal ; but for most others we suspect it will have no charm at all. We do not say that this is as it ought to be. It is rather a matter for regret. The work is a really solid and learned one. To considerable power as a controversialist, Dr. Dickson adds an extensive knowledge of his subject and great skill as an exegete. If the work has any fault, it is that of being too learned. The author's own opinions are so completely overlaid with those of others, that one has considerable difficulty in making out what they are. Still, there can be no doubt that his lectures form one of the most learned and valuable contributions to the study of St. Paul's writings which this country has produced. It is almost needless to add that the theology of the lectures, while liberal in spirit, is thoroughly sound in doctrine.

*Beliefs about the Bible.* By M. J. SAVAGE. London : Williams & Norgate. 1884.

Mr. Savage gives us here a series of twelve discourses, delivered by him on Sunday mornings recently in his Chapel in Boston. The beliefs about the Bible which he assails are the theories of its verbal or plenary inspiration. The theory which is coming to be quite popular, especially among the younger men in the ministry, who are glad to call themselves by the name of liberal-orthodox, is that, he says, which teaches that the Bible, though it may be in error in regard to scientific matters, and may make mistakes as to historical facts, and be wrong in its figures and chronology, is nevertheless true and the infallible word of God, so far as concerns its moral and religious teaching. The old Unitarian theory, that the Bible, though not in every part the Word of God, yet contains the Word of God ; and the theory which, denying that it is *the* Word of God, or contains that Word in any specific sense, yet holds it to be, by virtue of its pervading inspiration, a unique book, above all others, and not to be treated as any other, he regards as more or less popular, though he nowhere treats them as the authoritative teaching, which they are not, of any section of the Church. His object is to bring out what he considers to be the true worth and eternal value of the Bible. His discourses are in no sense of the term an attack on the Bible itself, but on what he regards as the mistaken beliefs

about it—beliefs which seem to him to hinder it from being rightly understood, and from exercising its inherent influences on the spiritual thought and life of our times. His pages may be read with perfect safety by any intelligent Christian. Their perusal can only lead him to a healthier conception of the merits of the Bible, and a more beneficial use of it. In conception, in style, and in spirit, the discourses are worthy of all praise, and deserve to be widely circulated and attentively read. They give an admirable summary of the results to which the modern historico-critical school has come in its investigations into the origin and history of the books of Scripture, and of the grounds on which these results rest, and present throughout the spirit, not of one-sided dogmatism, but of calm, judicial impartiality, which is ready to give, and from the wealth of its knowledge gives, a reason for the faith that is in it.

*Is God Knowable?* By the Rev. J. IVERACH, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

In some respects this book is not a little disappointing. It belongs to the series of volumes known as 'The Theological Library,' which, according to the prospectus, were to be 'condensed in expression, biblical in doctrine, catholic in spirit, and by competent writers.' This little work may claim to be 'biblical in doctrine' if the doctrine of the ultra-Calvinistic evangelical school is 'biblical,' but it is anything but 'catholic in spirit,' and anything but 'condensed in expression.' It posits a great and interesting problem. Mr. Iverach writes with all the confidence of a person who has a satisfactory solution of it to offer, and who sees clearly, and can point out, the flaws in logic and the errors in judgment of all philosophers who have modestly confessed their inability to give an affirmative answer to this question, or have sought to establish the negative. He is a vigorous writer, has read widely and with careful attention, but not often, if ever, without his theological spectacles on. He states plainly and fearlessly what, with this problem before him, he *ought* to do, and raises our expectations consequently as to what is to be presented to us. But we are soon disillusioned, and we do not read many pages before we are taught to distrust his promises, and scrutinise with care his pretended fulfilment of them. Here is a specimen of what we mean. He wisely remarks at the outset that it is necessary to state the meaning of the terms he is about to use. 'In the question,' he says, p. 2, 'Is God knowable? there are two words which need to be defined. We shall begin with the word "knowledge." We shall not enter into the numerous problems of a metaphysical kind which, still awaiting solution, cluster round the word "knowledge"; we take for granted that knowledge is possible.' This is all that we get in the shape of a 'definition' of knowledge as he is to use the term and its cognates, and he passes away into a lengthy disquisition on the methods by which knowledge may be gained by us. Here is his promised definition of 'God.' 'As to the other word



which we shall have to use frequently in our discussion, we have to say that, when we speak of God, we use the word in the old sense of the term. We do not mean the universal reason, nor the unknowable, nor a stream of tendency, nor any abstract universal of any kind.' He wishes to state that God is a Person, and is knowable as such, and devotes a chapter to the subject of personality and its manifestations in history, in which we seek in vain any definite idea of what it is that constitutes personality as *attributed to God*. Mr. Iverach proposes 'to prove that arguments of the kind and cogency which constrain us to believe in the existence of Shakespeare (i.e., the person who wrote the works bearing his name) are forthcoming to constrain us to believe in God.' As Shakespeare's works could not have come together without the disposing mind, will, judgment, feeling, of a 'personality,' so the universe could not have taken being, and attained its present condition except under the disposing mind, will, judgment, etc., of an infinitely greater personality—God. It is the old argument from design that he proposes to present to us, but when we examine the book we nowhere find it. Mr. Iverach is great in criticism, and lays about him with tremendous force and masterly self-satisfaction. Many of his strictures are doubtless just, but they do not help us to see how God is knowable. Our author seems to think that all he has got to do, in order to establish his proposition that God is knowable, is to state the Christian doctrine as to God, or as to the Deity and Work of Christ. If that were all that is needed, it has been done hundreds of times already, and the agnostics have not been silenced, nor the humble seekers after truth satisfied. Mr. Iverach's chapter, 'The Hebrew Solution,' reveals what we cannot help regarding, in these days of critical inquiry into the genesis of our biblical documents, and the history of the Israelitic tribes, as an almost unpardonable ignorance of established facts, on his part, or an equally unpardonable incapacity to appreciate their bearing on the history of Israelitic thought. As a contribution to the settlement of the problem our author places before us, his work is of no great value. As a criticism of the work of others in pursuit of a solution of it, it is not without merit, but even here it must be used with caution. If Mr. Iverach were not so sure of the absolute accuracy of his own judgment, and so loftily contemptuous in his treatment of other thinkers whose opinions do not harmonize on all points with his own, his book would be more pleasant reading, if not more instructive than it is.

*Sermons.* By JOSEPH LECKIE, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

Dr. Leckie is the minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Ibrox, one of the suburbs of Glasgow. These sermons, he tells us in a short preface to this volume, have for the most part been rescued from oblivion by the forethought of friends who took elaborate notes of them when preached, and the whole collection is published at their request. We are

sorry that we cannot altogether share in the author's joy at their preservation. Our fear is that they will somewhat damage his reputation, both as a preacher and as a scholar. His theology is that of the Puritan Fathers, and his discourses are modelled on theirs in the matter of arrangement, and even the very language he uses savours of the seventeenth century. To many, however, this will be a decided recommendation, and there can be no doubt that the sermons are pervaded by a kindly and evangelical spirit. To those who have listened to Dr. Leckie their publication will undoubtedly be acceptable. The sermons bear witness to a kindly spirit, and will, at least, commend themselves to those who urged their publication.

*La Civilisation des Arabes.* Ouvrage illustré de 10 Chromolithographies, 4 Cartes et 366 Gravures dont 70 grande planches, d'après les photographies de l'Auteur ou d'après documents les plus authentiques. Par Dr. GUSTAVE LE BON. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1884.

Dr. Le Bon has not only written a brilliant description of the wonders of Arabian civilization, he has written also a complete history of the Arabian people. His work is in every respect a charming illustration of the way in which the functions of the historian ought to be discharged. His conception of what history ought to be may be gathered from the following weighty and sagacious words:—'It is not in the genealogies of sovereigns, in the narratives of battles and of conquests, which form the foundation of classical history, that its materials ought to be looked for. We shall find them chiefly in the study of the languages, arts, literatures, faiths, and social and political institutions of each epoch. These divers elements of a civilization ought not to be considered as the result of the caprice of men, of chance, and of the will of the gods, but rather as the expression of the necessities, ideas, and sentiments of the races among which they appear. A religion, a philosophy, a literature, or an art, implies nothing else. Rightly interpreted, the actions and the works of men tell us their thoughts. They tell us their thoughts and permit us to reconstruct the image of an epoch, but this picture will not suffice. It is requisite to explain its formation. The people which is studied at a single determined moment, was not formed all at once. It is the resultant of a long past, and of influences, modified by the circumstances, to which it has been continually subjected. It is in the past of a race, therefore, that it is requisite to search for the explanation of its actual condition. We may give the name of social embryology to this study of the formation of the various elements of which a society is composed. It is destined to become the most solid base of history, just as the embryology of living beings has become the surest foundation of the biological sciences.' In accordance with the lines here laid down, the author first gives a remarkably fresh

and interesting account of the Arabs and their country previous to the appearance of Mahomet. The second book, which is devoted to the origins of the Arabian civilization, deals more particularly with Mahomet and his teaching, and the conquests of his successors. In the third book we have a minute account of the remains of Islam in its various centres. The fourth book deals with the manners and institutions of the Arabs. The fifth is devoted to their philosophy, science, literature, and art, and to the influence they exercised on the civilizations of the East and West. In the sixth and last chapter the causes which led to the decadence of the Mahomedan civilization are discussed. On a future occasion we hope to direct the attention of our readers to the subject which Dr. Le Bon has here treated with such remarkable skill, and confine ourselves for the present to pointing out the contents of his volume, and giving it our most cordial recommendation. The illustrations are excellent. When shall we be able to produce chromolithographs equalling in softness and brilliancy those which adorn M. Le Bon's volume?

*Christian Charity in the Ancient Church.* By G. UHLHORN, D.D.

Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

A history of charity in the ancient Church, written with the requisite learning, and accessible to English readers, has long been wanting. It is surprising, indeed, that no English writer has yet taken up the subject. It is one of those subjects which are fraught with the greatest interest, and is intimately connected both with the condition of Pagan society about the advent of our Lord, and with the life and spirit of the early Christian Church; yet we have often looked, and looked in vain, for any work in English dealing with it. A few general references in Church histories was, so far as we are aware, until the publication of the present volume, all that could be gathered about it in our literature. Here, again, we may note the superiority of the theological literatures of France and Germany over our own. Where our own is poor, they are rich; and it can hardly be said that where ours is rich they are poor. They excel us in almost every—if not in every—branch of theological study. Dr. Uhlhorn's volume is an excellent example of German learning and German thoroughness. Moreover, it is well written, and carries the reader on with unwearied interest to the end. Its wealth of fact and illustration is remarkable. The references to sources are extremely numerous, and the only objection we have to take to them is that they are placed at the end of the volume instead of at the foot of the pages. The work itself is divided into three parts or books. The first, entitled 'The Old and the New,' is mainly preparatory. The first chapter is decidedly the best, though objection may be taken to some of its inferences. The distinction drawn between the ancient *liberalitas* and the Christian *caritas* is, to say the least, somewhat too hard and rigid. According to Dr. Uhlhorn,

the latter always keeps in view the welfare of the poor and needy, 'whereas the Roman who exercises the virtue of liberality considered in reality himself alone.' In many instances this was certainly the case. But to take the hard and ambitious Roman as a type of heathen virtue or even liberality, is scarcely fair. That there were men and women by the hundred who were better than him is certain. Even on Dr. Uhlhorn's own showing, there was exhibited by not a few something very like what the author of *Ecce Homo* calls 'enthusiasm for humanity,' and what Dr. Uhlhorn calls 'Christian *caritas*.' The learning of the chapter, however, is exceptional, and suggests many modern parallels. In the second book Dr. Uhlhorn first sketches the economical condition of the Roman Empire, and brings out many striking facts in connection with the distribution of wealth, and the condition of the various classes of society. The attitude of the Christian Church towards the poor is then dealt with. In the third chapter of this book the fact that charity is a manifestation of the Christian spirit is reiterated, and the relation of the Christian Churches to the old Roman *collegia* indicated. After the fact that the charity of the ancient Church looked chiefly to the wellbeing of the poor and needy, that which is dwelt upon with the strongest emphasis is that whatever was done on behalf of the poor by the Church, was the outcome of a carefully regulated organisation. In every instance of relief the Church acted as a whole, and by means of its specially appointed officers. Of these, and of the ways in which the Church sought to find out the needy and to minister to their relief, and of how she acted as a refuge and home for the oppressed, Dr. Uhlhorn gives a really admirable account. We can only commend his volume as an interesting and very valuable contribution to our knowledge both of the early Church and of the state of society during the first centuries of the Christian era.

*Across the Ferry: First Impressions of America and its People.*

By JAMES MACAULAY, M.A., M.D., Editor of the *Leisure Hour*. Third Edition. Illustrated. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

Those who are about to visit the United States, and those who wish to understand the people and institutions of that great country, should procure Dr. Macaulay's book and read it. From beginning to end its pages are crowded with instructive facts and shrewd observations. During his stay on the other side of the 'Ferry,' he seems to have made good use of his eyes and to have noted all that came in his way that was worth noting. Railways, steamers, churches, the ways of the various classes of society, rulers, preachers, schools, occupations, pastimes, and innumerable other things of interest on the North American Continent are laid under contribution and treated of in his pages in the most interesting way. He writes, too, with great frankness and fairness, acknowledges superiority where he observes it, and candidly points out what appear to him to be

faults ; for though his sympathy with the American people is great, he is by no means so enamoured of their institutions as to believe them in every respect superior to our own. As a companion to the ordinary guide books his work will be found invaluable, and no one can read it without pleasure.

*Virginia. A History of the People.* By JOHN ESTEN COOKE.  
Fourth Edition. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

This, we understand, is the first of a series of histories of the American Commonwealth ; and we may say at once that if the succeeding volumes exhibit the same degree of literary workmanship and research, and possess anything like the same interest, they will form the most delightful series of provincial histories the English language can show. Mr. Cooke's work is charming from beginning to end. He tells the story of Smith and Pocahontas, and describes the fortunes of the colony from the day when Smith was put on shore in irons (at what afterwards became Jamestown) down to the present time, in such wise that there is not a single uninteresting page in his volume. We hope to return to it, and will only add that in handiness, paper, printing, and binding, the volume is all that can be desired.

*Japan : Travels and Researches.* By J. J. REIN, Professor of Geography in Marburg. Translated from the German. Illustrations and Maps. London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1884.

As the title page indicates, this work was undertaken by command, and was originally published at the cost of the Prussian Government. It is the result of studies and researches carried on during a residence of nearly two years in Japan, and extensive journeys through the islands of Hondo, Shikoku, Kiushiu, and Amakusa, in the years 1874 and 1875, and has the merit of being the freshest, fullest, and most reliable account we yet have of the kingdom of the Mikado. In a subsequent work, Professor Rein proposes to treat of the industry and trade of Japan. Here he confines himself to the physiography and people of the country. The work is divided into two parts, the first of which, dealing with the physiography, may be regarded, as indeed it is, the more important. After an introductory chapter giving an account of the situation, size, and divisions of the Empire, Professor Rein proceeds to describe the coast line, parts of the sea, and prevailing currents. Here he has evidently in his eye the wants of a commercial and maritime people, and is careful to give the facts which such a people is anxious to learn. For instance, the coast line is not merely described in general terms, Professor Rein divides it into sections, and of each section gives a particular account, indicating the depth of water, what shelter may be expected, and the kind of anchorage likely to be found. The Inland Sea of Japan, it seems, is so shallow, that an elevation of the

bottom by only twenty fathoms would in many places produce dry passages between the neighbouring larger islands. Many of these islands are covered with pines, and a sail among them reminds one, Professor Rein remarks, of a trip through the Skärs of Scandinavia or Finland. One curious circumstance he mentions is that the island called Nippon by most Europeans, has among the Japanese no special name, the term Nippon being applied by the natives to the whole country, and never to the chief island alone. Formerly the Japanese called their country Great Nippon. Education and travel have greatly modified their ideas of its vastness, and the epithet 'great' is gradually being dropped. Professor Rein's account of the mineral wealth of the country is by no means glowing. 'The store of most metals,' he says, 'such as gold, silver, tin, lead, zinc, quicksilver, is a very modest one, and will never be able to compare with that of many other countries. Copper and antimony are more plentiful, but it is only in iron and coal that the country is rich. The former is chiefly found as magnetic iron ore in great masses, or as iron-sand in the river beds or on the coasts; coal appears in many small seams in various parts of the country, especially in Yezo, and from the oldest anthracite coal to the most recent peat, yet nowhere in great thickness, nor of such good quality as many kinds of European coal.' The supply of petroleum is insufficient for home consumption. Rock salt is nowhere found. The chapter on the volcanoes of the country is excellent, and is only surpassed in value by the one entitled 'Orography.' This is probably unique. The chapters on the hydrography and climate, the flora and fauna of the country, are of great scientific value. Not the least interesting portions of these chapters are those dealing with the forests and fisheries. The second half of the volume treats of the people of Japan, their history, civilization, and social condition. The history is compiled from the accounts given by the native historians, and is both full and interesting. To many it will be new. As a sample of Professor Rein's treatment of his subject, we take the following description of the now extinct Samurai.

'The Samurai (Sinico-Jap, Shi or Bushi), in the ordinary, narrower sense of the word, formed the privileged military class of the Shōgun and the Daimios. They were their vassals with hereditary revenues of under 10,000 Koku. Only a small portion had landed property; most of them lived, to a certain extent, from their lord's table; received from his magazines, in return for very slight services, their regular allowance of rice for small families of from three to five persons, and were, in weal and woe, entirely dependent upon the fortunes of their lord. The term "lower nobility," so often applied by Europeans to this Samurai class, is not calculated to give a correct idea of their position and importance. Except in their pride, there is hardly any affinity between them and our smaller nobles, even though the starting point of the latter was pretty much the same. It would be more appropriate to compare them with the former Strelitzes of Russia. Not so much in virtue of their individual position and importance, as of the power and intelligence represented by their total of some 400,000 households, they formed, until quite lately, the most influential and leading class of Japanese society. They were the legitimate



bearers not only of the sword, but also of the national honour and of the peculiar forms in which the Japanese sense of honour found expression ; and all the political revolutions, including those last and memorable ones which brought about the fall of feudalism, originated with them. The great mass of them consisted . . . of careless idle fellows who knew no other obligation than obedience to their lords, for whom they were ready at any moment to lay down their lives either on the battlefield or in defending him against murderers, or even by suicide, voluntary or prescribed, whenever honour or the interests of the family required. . . . A small portion of them were distinguished for their military exercises and studies ; the majority seemed to be born for eating, drinking, smoking, and for excesses in tea-houses, and places of public resort. They were people who had no higher ambition than to keep their swords in order and gird them on and strut about ; who regarded the lower classes with scorn, and found delight in cutting down those by whom they imagined themselves to be insulted.' Pp. 324-5.

Ronins were Samurai who had lost their natural lord and their rights, and who wandered about without master or law, ready for any villany. Following the history of Japan, we have an elaborate discussion of its ethnography. Here, of course, we have an account of that curious people, the Ainos—an account which exhibits careful study, and contains much additional information. The chapters on the character and social condition of the Japanese, and as well the one on their religions, will repay the most careful perusal. Altogether, this volume of Professor Rein's is one of the utmost value and interest. As a book on Japan it is without an equal. A word of praise, too, ought to be said on behalf of its numerous photographs and illustrations.

*Samuel Gobet, Evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem, Sein Leben und Wirken.* Basel: C. F. Spittler. 1884.

This life of the late learned and excellent Bishop Gobat is divided into two parts, the first, an autobiography, extending as far as his arrival in Jerusalem, as Bishop, at the end of 1846 ; the second, a brief account, compiled from various sources, of the most important events of his episcopate. Naturally, therefore, the first part is by far the more interesting, save to those who take a special interest in the much wrangled over Jerusalem Bishopric. Bishop Gobat was a many-sided man ; the qualities most prominent in his autobiography are, the intense fervour of his personal piety, the manly vigour of his christianity, and his powerful intellectual ability. Such a feat as that of mastering, fairly, in about two hours, the 209 characters of the Ethiopic alphabet, we should imagine, has not been often accomplished : probably it is better not attempted, as the Bishop admits that the result was a headache of two days' duration. One characteristic of Bishop Gobat, although there are traces of it, does not appear in the autobiography so prominently,—that quick sense of humour, and love of innocent mirth, which, under circumstances removing all dread from his mind of mis-interpretation, or the appearance of unbecoming levity, rendered him such a delightful companion. We think, however, that the

most significant testimony to Bishop Gobat's worth lies in a fact mentioned to us by a member of his family ; that when, after an episcopate of over thirty-two years, he peacefully passed away in Jerusalem, at the age of eighty years,—the Mohammedans in the city said it was wrong to weep for such a man, for he was so certainly gone to Allah.

*Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville.* Edited by the Vis-Countess ENFIELD. Second Series. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1884.

To this second series of selections from Mr. Henry Greville's diary, the editor has added a 'memoir' of the author and a number of notes. So far as these additions go they are admirable, but the former is much too short, and the second are far too few and brief. The 'Memoir' scarcely fills four pages, and is just sufficient, notwithstanding the 'Leaves from the Diary,' to make us wish to know more. Henry William Greville, the youngest son of Charles and Lady Charlotte Greville, was born October 28, 1801. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford, but spent much of his childhood on the Continent, chiefly at Brussels, where his family was residing at the time of the battle of Waterloo. His parents were intimately acquainted with the Duke of Wellington, by whom Henry Greville, though but a boy of fourteen, was taken to the Duchess of Richmond's famous ball. In 1835 Henry Greville entered the diplomatic service, and retired from it in 1844. For many years he was a gentleman usher at Court, and died in 1872. The period covered by this series of the *Leaves* is from September 18, 1852, to December 31, 1856. It is marked by the same characteristics as the earlier series, but with this difference—interesting as the first volume was, this is even more so. We have read it through, and can honestly say that we have not met with a single uninteresting page within its covers. Judging by our own experience we should say that no one can read it without a sense of increasing interest, or lay it down when he has finished its perusal without regret. We sincerely hope that the 'Leaves' will be continued. Of the many passages we have marked for reference we can but cite one or two. The French Alliance and the Crimean Campaign form, of course, the principal topics of the diary. It is curious to observe how generally Napoleon III. was distrusted. Mr. Greville had no faith in him ; nor do many of those whose society he frequented either in England or in France seem to have had any. Under date November 10, 1855, he writes : 'Yesterday Palmerston made a flaming war harangue at the Lord Mayor's dinner, which by the newspaper account was hailed with enthusiasm, whilst no one would listen to John Russell ! At the end of the room was hung a fine transparency in honour of the liberty of the Press, with this motto—'Magna est Veritas, et prævalebit.' What a joke and what a farce it all is to hear Palmerston bespattering the Emperor of the French with praises for his noble disinterestedness in fighting for *liberty*, against barbarism and despotism ! he being

the greatest living despot, in whose nostrils all liberty, and especially that of the Press, absolutely stinks.' Mr. Gladstone is frequently referred to. Mr. Greville seems to have admired his ability but not to have been impressed by his appearance in society. The following was written some thirty years ago :—'The Gladstones came here on Wednesday. No one can dispute his extraordinary capacity, but I think there may be much difference of opinion as to the charm of his society. He has a melodious voice in speaking, but I was not prepared to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer warble a sentimental ballad accompanied by his wife.' The following is the only other extract we can find room for :—'Dined with Lady Essex. She told me of a curious thing that happened to Lady Beecher (Miss O'Neill). Sometime after her marriage she was at a ball, when a lady accosted her and said she was very desirous of making her acquaintance, in order to express her gratitude to her for the whole happiness of her life. Lady Beecher, somewhat astonished, asked her what she meant, when the lady told her that her husband had been a confirmed gambler, but that Miss O'Neill's performance of *Mrs. Beverley* had made so extraordinary and lasting impression on him that, on retiring from the theatre, he registered an oath never to play or bet again, which he had religiously observed ; and she considered that her happiness was entirely owing to her admirable performance.' In conclusion, we can only commend the volume to our readers as the most interesting and entertaining of the season.

*Le Cycle Mythologique Irlandais et la Mythologie Celtique.* Par H. d'ARBOIS de JUBAINVILLE, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris : Ernest Thorin. 1884.

As Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville himself explains in his preface, the present volume, which so worthily continues the course of Celtic literature opened by a work already noticed in a former number, is an examination of the well-known passage in the sixth book of Cæsar, where the conqueror of Gaul gives an account of the principal deities worshipped by the warlike tribes which he had subdued. According to him, five deities were the object of special veneration amongst the Gauls, and, with but a change of name, answered to the Mercury, the Apollo, the Mars, the Jupiter, and the Minerva of Roman mythology. But the attributes upon which Cæsar founds this identity, are merely secondary, and his examination of them so superficial that it would be rash to accept his assertions without a closer investigation of them, and without confronting them with other texts. This critical examination is the main object of Professor de Jubainville's erudite treatise. For the basis of what may be considered as an essay on the fundamental principles of Celtic mythology he has taken the work which Irish scholars know under the name of *Lebar Gabala*, that is, 'The Book of Conquests.' If the opening remarks prepare us to find Cæsar's authority challenged, and the Latin deities deposed from the thrones on which he has perhaps somewhat

rashly placed them, the perusal of a very few pages shows us that Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville has other claimants to bring forward. If we may be allowed to adopt a familiar saying, he robs Rome to pay Greece. It would require a more thorough knowledge of the original documents than we can pretend to possess, to either substantiate or rebut the accusation which a German critic lately brought against the French professor's book, of making too free with Greek mythology, and of straining not one but many points in his endeavour to establish analogies. But this, at least, we can say, that some of these analogies are very striking, that most are plausible, and that all are ingenious. To mention but a few of them, it is impossible not to be reminded of the three primitive races with which Hesiod peoples the golden age, the silver age, and the brazen age respectively, when, in Irish mythology we read of the families of Partholon, of Nemed, and of the Tûatha Dé Danann. Irish mythology has the battle between the Tûatha Dé Danann and the Femôre just as that of Greece has its struggle between the gods and the Titans, and Bress, the head of the Tûatha Dé Danann, has sprung from a mythic conception identical with that which has produced Kronos. No stretch of the imagination is required to recognise the features of Prometheus in Ith, to whom the Irish race was almost as much indebted as the early inhabitants of the Greek world to the enemy of Zeus. Professor de Jubainville does not, however, hide either from himself or his readers that if there are remarkable points of contact between Irish and Greek mythology, if the doctrines and the sentiments which have served as a basis for the one are similar to those which have inspired the general features of the other, their development, more particularly from the point of view of literary and artistic form, has been thoroughly different. Celtic mythology has neither its Homer nor its Phidias. In conclusion, we have to say of this new volume of Professor de Jubainville's Course of Celtic Literature that, though it may be open to criticism, which is perhaps but another way of saying that it is thoroughly original, it is a conscientious, scholarly, and, in every respect, excellent work. To students of the literature of our Celtic ancestors we cannot recommend it too highly; even those who may take exception to some of the theories which it propounds, will have every reason to be thankful for the materials which it puts at their disposal.

*Essai d'un Catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande, précédé d'une étude sur les manuscrits en langue irlandaise conservés dans les Iles Britanniques et sur le Continent. Par H. d'ARBOIS de JUBAINVILLE, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Ernest Thorin. 1883.*

Two years ago, in the summer of 1882, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, the eminent scholar who occupies the chair of Celtic at the Collège de France, was entrusted by M. Jules Ferry, at that time Minister for Public Instruction, with a literary mission to the British Isles. Its object was the examination of the various Celtic manuscripts to be found in the public and

private collections of England and Ireland. Its result is contained in the volume lying before us. In its main part, it is a work of erudite bibliography, and of necessity appeals to a somewhat limited circle of readers, or more correctly of students. To the learned few for whom it is intended, this Catalogue of the Epic Literature of Ireland will be of the greatest utility, as the following numerical analysis abundantly proves. The manuscripts which M. d'Arbois de Jubainville was able to examine were 953 in number. Of these, 3 are preserved in Cambridge, 15 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and 166 in the British Museum. In Dublin, the Library of the Royal Irish Academy possesses 560, that of Trinity College and of the Franciscans 63 and 22 respectively. The Ashburnham collection contributes 63, and various private collections make up the total with other 61. In a separate chapter, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville also gives a brief notice of the 56 manuscripts known to exist in various continental libraries. A complete methodical classification of all these Celtic manuscripts is obviously impracticable, for the simple reason that many of them consist of collections of pieces of which the subjects would come under various heads, nevertheless, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has rendered good service in this direction by grouping them, as far as was possible, under the six headings of theology and hagiography, law, medicine and astronomy, grammar, history, and epic poetry. As showing the literary activity of Ireland during the middle ages, this erudite work of the French professor is of the highest importance.

*Outlines of Psychology: with Special Reference to the Theory of Education.* By JAMES SULLY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

It is rather a difficult feat, one should suppose, to write a book on Psychology without being to a certain, even a considerable, extent polemical. This feat, however, Mr. Sully has here achieved. There is nothing more observable in the work before us than the conciliatory spirit of the author, and the absence of controversial matter. The exposition moves on without break or jar; and, although this method of presentation has its drawbacks, there can be no question that the ordinary reader will find it a great advantage, while the special student will easily be able to read between the lines. Another distinguishing feature is the clear conception that the author has of the scope and nature of his subject, and the conscientiousness with which he adheres to it; to which we may add his keen appreciation of the bearings of physiology and pathology on psychological facts. A third feature is the striking and systematic attempt to trace the growth and development, not only of Mind as a whole, but of its various parts—faculties and capabilities—separately. And a fourth feature is the clear and masterly analysis everywhere apparent, coupled with good sense, sound judgment, and commendable caution. The book itself, indeed, is one of the best answers that can be given to those who deny the possibility of a science of psychology, or who look with exaggerated sus-



picion on the introspective method. The arrangement of the subject-matter is simple, yet effective. The first four chapters are of a general and introductory character, dealing with 'the scope and method of psychology,' 'mental operations and their conditions,' 'mental development,' and 'attention.' The chapter on Attention is particularly good, and is distinguished *inter alia* by certain very happy turns of expression,—as when, in stating the functions of Will in connexion with Attention, it is said, 'The Will introduces mind and object: it cannot force an attachment between them.' The remainder of the book follows the three well-known divisions of Mind—Intellect, Feeling, Will: under the first of which we get such familiar headings as 'Sensation,' 'Perception,' etc.; under the second, 'Simple Feelings,' 'Complex Feelings;' and under the third, 'Voluntary Movement,' 'Conduct.' One of the most striking portions of the work is the handling of what we may call the Psychological Idea. This includes Reproductive Imagination (Memory), Constructive Imagination, and Conception. It is here, we think, that the author's strength is seen at its best; and, as it is here that the Laws of Association (Contiguity, Similarity, etc.) find their place, this is a portion that will be keenly scanned. It will stand the scrutiny. We are not quite sure, however, that it would not have been well to place a little more stress on distinctive terminology at this point. Nothing puzzles the youthful student (not to speak of Mr. Sully's 'general reader,' to whom he refers in the Preface) more than the exuberance of ill-discriminated terms that are usually met with in connexion with Imagination and Conception; and a clear marking off of the psychological connotations of such words as Idea, Concept, Representation, from their metaphysical and other meanings, would have been both acceptable and useful. The same remark applies to Chapter XII, on 'the Complex feelings: Sentiments;' where the nature of Sympathy would be much illuminated by a sharply-drawn distinction between it and such closely-allied altruistic sentiments as Friendship, Generosity, etc., and where something should be said as to the relation of this Emotion to Approbation and to Virtue. And, speaking generally, the absence of a detailed treatment of the different significations of the leading psychological terms ('Consciousness,' for example, is nowhere explained) is the first of the two faults we have to find with this otherwise satisfactory work. Our second fault may be put in the form of a regret. Psychology and the application of its doctrines to Education are both included here; but the latter does not occupy so prominent a position, nor is it so fully worked out, as we had expected to find. Perhaps we were wrong in expecting this; but if the wish which is father to the thought may be allowably adduced in justification, we can sincerely say that we desired it. Not the least valuable part of the book are its abundant references to the leading psychological works, not only of this country, but of foreign lands. There is here a treasure which the student will not fail to appreciate. A word of praise to the printer, who has manipulated the important matter of variety of type with admirable correctness, and has well kept up the credit of the Aberdeen University Press.



*Liederbuch des Deutschen Volkes.* Herausgegeben von CARL HUSE, FELIX DAHN, und CARL REINECKE. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel. 1883.

This is a new edition of a work published by Dr. Carl Huse forty years since, and now appears with its poetical contents revised by Felix Dahn, its musical part by Carl Reinecke of Leipzig. These names alone are sufficient to vouch for the excellence of the book. English and Scottish readers will find therein a most interesting collection of German poetry, ranging from Goethe and Heine down to nursery rhymes; and those who wish to familiarize children early with the German language cannot do better than teach them to sing, to the melodies to which they are set, some of the simple Kinderlieder or Volkslieder, of which they will find abundant choice in this volume.

*Poems and Fragments.* By CHARLES JAMES. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner.

Fragmentary and unfinished as these verses are, they possess a simplicity and depth of pathos, a sweetness and beauty which lift them up into the region of genuine poetry. Written, as we gather from the prefatory note, under the very shadow of death, the strain of thought by which they are pervaded is naturally sombre, yet their tone is far from melancholy. Rays of hope and cheerfulness flash out here and there along their lines, and show that they are expressions of a pure soul chastened by suffering, and resting with confidence in a manly and enlightened faith. Scarcely one of the fragments fails to show an abundant promise of what the author might have done, or might do, were the requisite physical strength at his command. The poems are so full of feeling, and touch one on so many sides, that it is difficult to say which we are most drawn to. We give the following, not as the best passage we can find, but as the one we have accidentally lighted upon.

‘What is’t to live?

It is to know and do, and in the deed  
To make the thought partaker of the end,  
For thought is life; to treasure up our days,  
Counting the hours like pearls on a string,  
Seeking to make of each a fragrant urn  
Wherein to lay embalm’d some gracious deed  
Or hint of noble enterprise; it is  
To walk in silence, conscious of great ends;  
To love truth, to be patient, bearing much,  
And calm and full of faith,—not to be great,  
But to live greatly, making of our lives  
Such record as may live in after days;  
And seeing in our cold natural life,  
Tho’ blurr’d with tears and stain’d with earthly dust,  
The mortal counterpart of that far state  
Whose promise is the solace of our pain.’

*Kildrostan: A Dramatic Poem.* By WALTER C. SMITH.

Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

The dramatic element has pervaded almost all the poems which Dr. Smith has written. This, however, if we remember rightly, is the first in which he has adopted the strictly dramatic form. His management of it, so far as the plot of the drama will allow, is good. The plot, however, is defective, and its termination is unsatisfactory. For one thing, but for two scenes the theatrical element would be altogether absent. If brought to the test of actual representation on the stage, we should not be surprised if it were a total failure. The two scenes we refer to as exceptions, the third in the third act, and the second in the following act, are admirable ; and show the true art of the play-wright. As for the termination of the plot, the reader is at some loss to make it out. Doris, the wicked angel of the drama, either kills herself or is killed by a fall over a precipice, after a mad ride along its brink. Sir Diarmid, the hero, vanishes, nobody knows where. The rest of the *dramatis personae* simply disappear. The plot, in fact, has no natural ending. The threads of it, after having been skilfully woven together, suddenly drop away, and one puts down the volume with a sort of hazy idea that Ina has become an heiress, and is likely to spend her days in sorrow. In the delineation of his characters, Dr. Smith is much more successful. The only one that seems to want reality is Tremain. There is an absence of flesh and blood about him. He talks eloquently on all manner of subjects, love included, but is as limp as a jelly fish, and much more colourless. Sir Diarmid, the hero, is well drawn, and but for his inconsistent and unworthy conduct, might have been taken as a noble type of a Highland laird. Doris betrays her southern origin. Her fierce jealousy and mad passion for revenge are vividly portrayed. Ina, the heroine of the play, is beautiful and stately, full of aspirations, and always pining after an ideal. Probably the most successful character, the one to which we are most drawn, is Morag, Ina's old nurse. She is precisely one of those characters which live and deserve to live. The radical fault of the drama seems to us to be in the plot. A better plot would have given the author a better scope for his unquestionably large powers as a dramatist. The choruses are beautifully written, and are managed with great skill. They form, indeed, one of the main attractions of the volume. On the other hand regarded simply as a poem, *Kildrostan* deserves high praise, and will, in all probability, take its place along with 'Hilda' and 'Olig Grange,' as one of the author's best and most finished works. That it is one of his most finished works we do not hesitate to say. In sharpness of delineation, and in condensed and vigorous writing, it is, in our opinion, much superior to 'North Country Folk,' and superior even to 'Hilda.' It exhibits, too, a deeper insight into the human heart, and a more manifold acquaintance with its workings. In fact, it seems to us the ripest and most mature poem Dr. Smith has yet produced. Here and there are passages of exquisite

beauty. As a sample of what the volume contains, we will find room for the following chorus :—

'Our fates are linked together, high and low,  
Like ravelled, knotted thrums of various thread,  
Homespun and silk, yellow and green and red,  
And no one is alone, nor do we know  
From what mean sources great events may flow :  
The tramp that lays him down among the straw,  
Despised, perchance shall fill your home with awe,  
Plague-stricken, or from him its peace may grow ;  
The ruined peasant's cot may downward draw  
The stately hall that neighbours it. We are  
All members of one body, and a flaw  
Or lesion here, the perfect whole shall mar.  
Therefore let justice rule and love inspire ;  
Wise for thyself, the weal of all desire.'

*Prairie Pictures, Lilith, and other Poems.* By CAMERON GRANT,  
Author of 'Songs from the Sunny South,' etc. London :  
Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

From the sublime heights of absolute ignorance of prairies, we condescendingly survey Mr. Grant's 'Prairie Songs,' and pronounce them admirable. One thing at least we can confidently affirm respecting them—that they make us regret extremely never to have seen the beauties which he so vividly describes. 'Lilith' is a poem hardly to be criticised. It holds the idea which many a painter, sculptor, poet, and musician has striven through life to embody, without accomplishing his object, at least to his own satisfaction. 'Vicisti' contains the germ of many thoughts, and its constant refrain—

'The waves go on, the waves go on'—

is no mournful dirge over that which is submerged, but a triumphant strain, evoked by a strong confidence that

'Christ is in the rising sea.'

Some of the shorter pieces have much beauty, and the whole volume breathes a spirit which seems to justify the belief that in the vast solitudes of the great lone land the soul, which can rise at all above the mirk and mire of our overcrowded life, may stand very near to the presence of Him who is invisible, and receive impressions which will abide with it for ever.

*Earth's Voices and other Poems.* By WILLIAM SHARP. London :  
Elliot Stock. 1884.

Some of these poems seem to us to possess great charms. 'Sospitra' and 'Gaspara Stampa' are very beautiful. The volume is well worth the attention of musical composers, if only for the sake of Violante's and Collalto's songs in 'Gaspara Stampa ;' and there are many besides admirably adapted for musical setting. Mr. Sharp is, however, either some-

times careless, or his ear fails him. He is occasionally guilty of a very unmusical line, such as—

‘Or booms the lion’s reverberate roar’—

or of the use of words so essentially prose that they seem oddly out of place in poetry. In ‘The Song of the Thrush,’ for instance,—and a very beautiful song it is,—‘Repetitive’ seems sadly prosaic, and surely ‘stellar bliss’ is not very poetical. However, these small blemishes notwithstanding, the volume is one of genuine poetry, and contains some very beautiful things.

*Otterstone Hall.* By URQUHART A. FORBES. London: Alex. Gardner.

How far, in *Otterstone Hall*, we are reading veracious history, how far the genuine product of a novel writer’s fancy it is difficult to determine; but the result is so good as to be well worth close criticism and the noting of some defects, which are so clearly flaws in technical skill, that they merit the careful attention of a writer of such very evident ability as Mr. Forbes. The date on the locket is of course a mere compositor’s blunder, but Mr. Forbes is not always clear on these points. Wilfred Oakburne is presented to us as twenty years of age in 1852, as twenty-three years of age in 1853. Again, on that spring day of 1853, on which he is introduced to us as sitting with his mother and sister, he saves Lois Simcox’s life. Her subsequent history, her death and burial, Wilfred’s return to his studies, and gaining of the prize he was trying for, are all included between that date and April 1854; while the whole story is carried through in time to allow Major Oakburne to return as a married man to the Crimea, early enough to be present at the fall of Sebastopol (September 9, 1855). These must be allowed to be grave defects in structure, but they are just those which can be easily overcome, and with very little trouble, by a writer of Mr. Forbes’s powers. If, as we imagine, this is a first novel, the skill with which he has managed the very large number of characters introduced in his pages, is very much more remarkable than such a failing as this. On another point we would venture a suggestion. As a personal sentiment, Thackeray and others notwithstanding, we detest, and hold a book inevitably vulgarised by, the use of the present tense. This opinion we admit we have no right to insist on, but certainly the past and present tenses should not be jumbled together as Mr. Forbes has jumbled them in some places. Beyond these faults in detail, we have nothing but commendation for the story. There is much freshness and vigour in Mr. Forbes’s descriptions of both people and places; he is a keen observer, and has the courage to represent people as they exist, and facts as they happen. He does not construct imaginary characters out of his inner consciousness, and justify the ways of Providence in an instructive manner from which, as yet, Providence has been slow to take a lesson. Therefore Walter Chessington, a very ordinary man, rises, as in real life very ordinary people do, under sufficient pressure, to the capability for very noble and heroic action; and—

crowning instance of Mr. Forbes's preference for truth over melo-dramatic fitness—the villain of the story goes to his grave prosperous and lamented, and is honoured with a tablet recording 'the grief of all who knew him, and all the virtues which it is possible for a man and a husband to possess.' Space will not allow us to dwell longer on this story; we can only record our conviction of its very great merit, and of the fact that it rests with Mr. Forbes himself to become, if he chooses, a novel writer of no mean order.

*City Echoes: or Bitter Cries from Glasgow.* By the Author of *Spero and Celestus*. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1884.

In this interesting little volume the aim of the author is, among other things, to give a description of the ways and degraded condition of the lowest stratum of society in the city of Glasgow. Nor has he failed. The description he gives is marked by power and truthfulness. Several of the incidents he relates are full of thrilling interest and are told with simplicity and vigour. The author is a little too fond of obtruding his reflections, and of talking about the 'eternities,' but apart from these faults, the work is really well done. When he chooses to tell his story directly, he does it with admirable effect. Few who read the interview between Jim and the baker, the narrative of Sandie's death, or of Jock's conversion, the picture of Jim's home, or the scene in Dummy's shebeen, will readily forget them. These are pieces of vigorous and truthful writing, and show the author at his best.

*The Law of the Ten Words* (Hodder & Stoughton). Dr. Oswald Dykes leaves the controversy respecting the origin of the 'Ten Words' aside, and confines himself to giving an exposition of their moral contents. His exposition is clear and forcible, and forms a very admirable addition to the series to which it belongs. *God: The Moral Force* (Glasgow, H. Hopkins) consists of twelve sermons by the Rev. James Forfar, exhibiting considerable freshness of thought and a theology which, if not particularly scientific, is at least catholic in spirit. *Some Notes on the Book of Psalms* (Longmans) is a reprint, with additions from the Rev. Jno. A. Cross' larger book on the Old Testament, to which we directed attention in our last number. Those who wish to understand the Hebrew Psalms will find these 'Notes' extremely useful. *What is Art?* (W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) by J. S. Little, treats of Art from a partly religious and partly philosophical point of view, and contains a number of reflections on the character and aim of art, which are well worth reading. *Shetland and the Shetlanders* (Kirkwall, W. Peace & Son) consists of two lectures delivered by Sheriff Rampini before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in February last. The lectures are well written, full of interesting information, and contain a number of amusing stories. We cordially commend them. *Gudrun, Beowulf, & Roland, &c.*, by John Gibb (F. Fisher Unwin), is an admirable book for the young, and cannot be too

highly commended. *Student Life at Edinburgh University*, by Norman Fraser (Paisley : J. & R. Parlane), is a very weak production, written in bad English. The author has certainly no mean opinion of himself. *The Kittlegairy Vacancy*, written by John Plenderleith, and published by Mr. Gemmell, Edinburgh, is both amusing and painful. We hope it is not true, and that this 'new way of getting rid of old ministers' is not likely to become established. In *Martha Spreul* (Glasgow : Wilson & McCormick), Zachray Fleming, writer, edits some amusing 'chapters in the life of a single wumman.' The chapters are mostly taken up with Martha's experience with student-lodgers, and a bursar whose moral education she undertakes, giving him at the same time board and lodging. The incidents are amusing, and the book has a certain quiet humour about it which makes it very entertaining. Our reviews of a number of other volumes are deferred.

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## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

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REVUE LYONNAISE (March 15th).—The opening article, which treats of the 'Salon Lyonnais,' is naturally of local interest only, except, perhaps in this, that it shows Lyons to be less exclusively devoted to its material interests and less careless of the inspirations of art than it is the fashion to suppose it.—In calling his paper 'Voltaire's Correspondence,' M. William Caze has chosen a somewhat ambitious title. In point of fact, whereas 'Voltaire's Correspondence' takes up eighteen volumes of the latest edition of his works, M. Caze has merely drawn from it the details of two episodes in Voltaire's life, that of the squabble with Frederick about a certain *œuvre de poeshie*, as Baron Freytag called it, and the less known incident of the law-suit with the president de Brosse about a few cart-loads of wood. That 'Voltaire's Correspondence' gives a more faithful idea of his character and disposition, and shows his petty weaknesses and his meanness under a clearer light than do his other works, is a statement in which we fully agree with M. Caze.—M. Natalis Rondot follows with a list, headed by a few words of introduction, of the 'Sculptors of Lyons from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century.'—In 'Fantaisies Niçoises,' we have a light and chatty paper by the founder of the *Revue*, M. François Collet.—M. Léopold Niepce contributes an article on the 'Catalogue of the Printed Works of Claude-François Ménéstrier,' lately published by Father Sommervogel, from the notes left by M. Renard. Still more important, however, than the details which he gives about this valuable volume is the account which he communicates of a manuscript of Ménéstrier's which he has lately discovered.—The 'Très humble Essai de Phonétique Lyonnaise,' which M. Nizier de Puitspela continues, is a valuable philological study, tracing the connection between Latin and the *patois* spoken about Lyons.—Amongst the contributors to the *Félibrige* we notice the name of W. C. Bonaparte-Wyse, who sings of 'Youth and Age,'—'La Jouinesso e la Viçisso,' in a lyrical production which he names 'un estrambord.' In an excellent 'Sonnet' M. Maurice Faure makes very apt allusion to 'the solemn council held at Lyons, which, for the glory of the Pope and of Montfort, the robber, proclaimed that it was the most horrible of crimes to confide one's thoughts to the language of the Troubadours.'

REVUE LYONNAISE (April 15th).—By far the best thing in this number is the reproduction of Amy's medaillon of the poet Mistral. It is accompanied by an interesting sketch of the 'felibre' sculptor's career, from the pen of M.



Elie Fourès.—With the exception of some verses by Arsène Houssaye, whose name comes upon us quite unexpectedly in this Provençal company, most of the contributions which make up the French part of this number are continuations of subjects already mentioned. Such are M. Collet's: 'Causeries Nîçoises'; M. Rondot's: 'Les Sculpteurs de Lyon du xiv<sup>e</sup> au xviii<sup>e</sup> Siècle'; 'Très humble essai de Phonétique Lyonnaise,' by M. Puitspelu, and 'Pensées,' by M. Roux.—The *Félibrige* is particularly good this month, no less a name than that of Mistral himself figuring in its table of contents; his contribution is a Provençal chanson: 'Lou Bastimen.'

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April).—What is Philosophy? asks M. Ernest Raville, whose complaint against the many definitions of it to be found in dictionaries, hand-books, and other scientific works is, that they determine what philosophy might be, or ought to be, according to the opinion of each individual writer, instead of simply stating what philosophy has been and actually is. His own definition looks upon philosophy as the endeavour to establish a principle which, in its unity, shall account for the origin, the destination and the state of the universe. Such is the thesis worked out in this and the following number.—M. T. Combe contributes the first half of an interesting and pleasantly written novelette to which he gives the title of 'Father Felix.'—The sketch of 'South America, from Panama to Cape Horn,' begun in the March number, is here concluded. This last instalment contains amongst other items a charming description of a sail up the Magdalena, as far as Honda.—In a former article M. Arvéde Barine set forth the various attempts made by employers of labour to bring about a reconciliation between capital and labour, by transforming the salaried worker into a partner of the firm, and giving him an interest in its prosperity. He now continues his subject by examining the other side of the question, the trades' unions of which the object is to do without employers altogether, and to secure for the workman not a share in the profits merely, but the whole of them.—After the conclusion by M. Perey and Mangras of their biographical sketch, 'Madame d'Épinay à Genève,' M. G. van Muyden takes us on an excursion through what he styles 'A Lost Country,' this lost country not being in the depths of Africa or America, but just a few miles from Berlin—the Spreewald.—The number concludes with half a dozen excellent chronicles.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (May).—The place of honour has very justly been assigned to a most interesting and instructive article which M. Marc-Monnier devotes to Tasso. One great point with him is to prove that when the poet wrote 'Aminta' and the 'Jerusalem,' he was not mad.—After M. Combe, who concludes: 'Le Père Felix,' and M. Naville, who contributes the last instalment of his paper: 'What is Philosophy?' M. M. Montet and Ritter produce a valuable and hitherto unpublished document relative to Madame de Warens and her husband. It is a letter written by M. de Warens during his long stay in England, and addressed to his brother-in-law, M. de Middel. It contains the details of Madame de Warens' flight, six years previously, and completes the history which hitherto was known only from Rousseau's 'Confessions.'—An eminently readable 'Excursion to Spain,' from the pen of M. Rios, is followed by the monthly chronicles. Of these, the English letter deals, amongst other subjects, with School Boards, which are treated with a good deal of ridicule, not to say contempt.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (June).—'Charles Gordon,' which M. Glardon has based on Hakes' 'Story of Chinese Gordon,' contains no new facts, nor does it present the familiar details of the daring soldier's career under any very new light, but it has the merit of being thoroughly appreciative.—As a sequel to the 'Père Felix' of former numbers, M. Combe publishes another simple but not uninteresting story, under the title of 'Joyeuse Vadien.'—'Les Origines des Grandes Familles Nobiliaires,' is confessedly drawn from well-known English works, notably those which Sir Bernard Burke has consecrated to the rise and vicissitudes of great families. Those who may not know the

originals, will find the facts and anecdotes which M. de Verdilhac has judiciously culled, and cleverly grouped together, well worth perusal.—Of M. Marc-Monnier's article on 'Tasso,' which is here continued, but not yet concluded, we can only repeat the praise which we bestowed on the first part. Had we to draw comparisons we should pronounce it to be by far the best thing in the numbers before us.—The *Revue* is fond of making its readers travel. After 'doing' South America with them, it now takes them all the way from Bordeaux to the Mauritius. It has taken care to provide an able guide in the person of M. Jean Rey, and the trip is a most pleasurable one.—The concluding article, which bears the title, 'The Italian Geneva,' is the translation of an extract from a work recently published by M. Edmondo de Amicis: 'Alle porte d'Italia.' The sketch of 'Torre Pellice' is excellently done, and is enlivened by the dramatic episode of the capture of the famous bandit Delpiero.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April).—For the amusing traits of childish character which it contains, even apart from the subtle analysis of them which gives it a really philosophical importance, M. Bernard Perez's paper, 'La Logique de l'Enfant,' is well worth reading. At the outset, the writer objects to the opinion which most people are content to hold on faith, that children, like animals, draw their conclusions from mere inference, while those of adults depend on reasoning; and he points out that in many cases these inferences are not to be distinguished from what is called reasoning in those endowed with general notions. In support of this he goes on to show how strong impulsions of sensibility, the necessity for action, and for enjoyment, lead the child to reason and to draw conclusions. Passing on to the nature and extent of the child's reasoning, he comes to the result that it possesses at least the germs of that power of drawing conclusions from general notions, which is usually looked upon as one of the characteristics of the adult mind.—In the first part of a very important paper on 'Hallucination,' M. Alfred Binet examines the various theories which have been proposed in explanation of it. His own is contained in the definition, that 'Hallucination is the disease of external perception.'—In a former study M. Jules Andrade has laid stress on the practical independence of morality, and of the difficulties which have been drawn from the opposition of the words determinism and moral liberty. The object of the present paper on 'The Abuse of the Principle of the Conservation of Forces,' is to point out one of the causes of this pretended conflict, and to show that scientific prevision on the one hand, and the will on the other, if honestly considered, do not by any means constitute the 'perpetual enigma of human reason.'—The *Revue générale* for this month is based on works bearing on the Theory of Mathematical Knowledge; amongst the analyses one of the most important is that of Maudsley's 'Body and Will.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (May).—In the continuation of his paper on 'Hallucination,' M. Binet passes from theories to experimental researches. These are limited to hallucinations of sight, and have been made on hypnotic subjects. The conclusion at which the writer arrives is that there are three kinds of visual hallucinations, those arising from objective causes, those due to subjective causes, and those of a central origin. The sole distinctive feature of the latter is the impossibility of submitting them to experiments of any kind.—The subject of Doctor Manouvrier's study on the 'Psycho-motor Function—la Fonction Psycho-motrice'—really belongs to physiology, but, as the author remarks, its philosophical importance is sufficiently great, its relations with psychology are sufficiently intimate and sufficiently numerous to recommend it to the attention of philosophers and psychologists. The knowledge of the mutual relations between the brain and the rest of the organism is the crown of the physiology of the nervous system, and should have its place in the foundation of a truly scientific system of psychology. Dr. Manouvrier's paper is a succinct analysis of the organic sources of the intellect, and of the reflex influence exercised by this supreme function on itself, by means of the motor action of the organ of thought on the other organs. He considers the brain successively as a receiving apparatus, as a producing apparatus, and as a motor apparatus, that is, as an apparatus reacting on the whole organism.—The third and last of the 'Articles de Fonds' is from the pen of M. Paulham, and is entitled 'Ideal Ethics.'

According to his definition, ethics are a special, practical science, in intimate connexion with practical philosophy, borrowing from it its rules and its general laws, and their aim is to indicate the conditions of a complete systematisation of the conduct of man as man. M. Paulhan assigns a very important part to this systematisation, indeed, he makes it the criterion and the ultimate object of ethics. It is greater, he says, than ethics, than aesthetics, than philosophy; all our theories seek it, and all our actions should tend towards it.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April 1st and 15th).—The Duc de Broglie's 'Diplomatic Studies' have reached a most interesting point, the present instalment being devoted to a detailed narrative of Voltaire's embassy to the Court of Berlin. The facts here brought forward whilst, on the one hand, fully justifying Frederick's openly expressed contempt for the versatile Frenchman's attempts at diplomacy, and clearly showing that, in the king's own words, 'The whole negotiation was a joke,' must, on the other hand, be allowed to prove that, in almost every branch except politics, Voltaire's mock mission to Germany exercised an influence which has not yet died away, careful as the Germans of the present day may be to ignore it. For good as for evil, the debt which the mighty German empire owes to the genius of Goethe is admittedly immense, but who shall estimate Goethe's indebtedness to Voltaire?—The continuation of M. Maxime Du Camp's 'Private Charity in Paris,' deals with the Refuge for Women, which has been established in the Rue d'Auteuil, and where, irrespective of religion or nationality, homeless females are boarded, nominally for three months, but in reality until means of subsistence has been found for them.—'A Gentleman of Leisure,' by Edgar Fawcett, and W. H. Bishop's 'The House of a Merchant Prince,' supply M. Th. Bentzon with a further chapter on 'The New American Novelists.' In his subtle analysis of these two characteristic works, the writer's main object is to point out the singular infatuation which leads the society of republican New York to submit to, or better, willingly to assume distinctions of caste apparently incompatible with its theory of political equality, and to enforce them with a fanatical rigidity which is the more astonishing—not to say ludicrous—that it has not even the shadowy foundation of blue blood and long descent to rest upon.—M. Marc-Monnier devotes a sympathetic and appreciative article to a consideration of the life and works of Francesco de Sanctis, whose death, towards the close of last year, has left a gap, both in politics and literature, which Italy will not easily fill.—Of the two remaining articles—exclusive of the staple chronicles—that on 'Fiduciary Circulation and the Present Crisis,' contributed by M. Victor Bonnet, can scarcely be recommended as light reading, and we feel justified in advising the intending reader to pass on to the interesting review of Herr Moritz Busch's work on Prince Bismarck.—The mid-monthly number opens with the last instalment of 'Andrée,' a novel which has supplied the light literature for the last two months, and is deserving of notice as the first attempt of a young writer who seems destined to hold a high place amongst French novelists. M. George Duruy's work has, in the first place, the great merit of suggesting no comparisons; it is written with praise-worthy independence, and it would be as difficult to class it amongst the productions of any school as it would be unfair to look upon it as the manifestation of any system. The plot is highly dramatic without, however, lapsing into sensationalism, and the style is natural and pleasing, its chief fault being a tendency to diffuseness.—'The Laws of Chance' are ably set forth by M. J. Bertrand, in an article replete with information and apt illustration.—M. Edouard Schuré treats of the popular Sunday Concerts which, after remaining for many years an exclusively Parisian feature, have now spread to Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Clermont, Nantes and Angers, and finds in them the subject-matter of a very able examination of the relative merits of Beethoven, Berlioz, and Richard Wagner. Into this disquisition we have not to follow him, but, in view of recent controversies, it may not be out of place to quote a few words with regard to the result of these popular Sunday Concerts: 'They have already produced a complete transformation of musical taste, and are preparing for us, in the near future, a regeneration of the æsthetical sense in the lower strata of society. They have accomplished with surprising rapidity what the Conservatoire could not do; they have popularised the great classical music.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (May 1st and 15th).—The first of this month's numbers is headed by a further instalment of the 'Diplomatic Studies' in which the Duc de Broglie throws the light of new documents on the first struggle between Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, and which have now reached the point of the renewal of the negotiations between France and Prussia, and of Louis's departure for the army.—To this and the next two numbers M. Emile Pouillon contributes instalments of a novel 'L'Innocent,' of which all we can say is that it is thoroughly bad and unworthy of the place which it occupies.—'The Night Refuge for Men' and 'The Philanthropical Society' are the titles of the two sections into which M. Maxime Du Camp divides this eighth and final part of the admirable series of articles which he has devoted to 'Private Charity in Paris,' and which amply justify the verdict contained in his concluding words: 'When weighed in the balance, the good deeds of Paris will not be found wanting, for they will have the weight of its charity, of that charity which the ancient world did not know, and with which the Christian religion has forever penetrated all hearts.'—As long as M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogué limits himself to his subject, which is a review, or better, a résumé of Bernal Diaz's Chronicle of the Conquest of Mexico, his article, 'Un Compagnon de Cortez,' is highly interesting, we have no praise to bestow on it, however, where the author comes forward with digressions and moral reflections of his own.—M. J. Jamin's 'Les Rougeurs du Ciel' is an able, interesting, and thoroughly scientific enquiry into the causes of the red sun-sets noticed towards the close of last year. We can only indicate the writer's theory, leaving it to the reader to consult the original article for the details and arguments on which it is based. M. Jamin is distinctly of opinion that the glow of the twilight was produced by the presence in the atmosphere of minute particles of dust from the volcano of Krakatoa, between Sumatra and Java, the eruption of which, last August, buried the island of Sebessi beneath a thick layer of mud, and, on the neighbouring coasts, caused inundations in which over 50,000 persons perished.—In another scientific article M. Ludovic Carrau treats of the 'Zoology of Aristotle,' and shows the importance and the authority, even in modern times, of this vast and erudite work.—As regards mere facts, M. G. Valbert's sketch of 'Charles George Gordon' is necessarily but a reproduction of what everybody has read in Archibald Forbes' 'Chinese Gordon.' It contains judgments and opinions, however, which are both original and interesting, and of which we may be allowed to give a sample: 'Chinese Gordon is perhaps the unique example of a man whose tenacious will has accomplished great things whilst only half believing in what it was accomplishing. But throughout the vicissitudes of his most active life, he has founded no lasting work. For the accomplishment of work which endures, thorough belief in that work is a necessary condition, and repentance is the most useless form of wisdom.' Whatever may be thought of this judgment, the concluding lines will find an echo in every English breast: 'Under whatever reservation we may admire Gordon's genius, it is impossible not to feel the keenest interest in his fate. The whole of Europe would hear with a sense of relief that he had escaped from the violent and cunning hands of the followers of the Mahdi. Lions are not intended to perish under the claws of jackals, and Gordon is too noble a prey for the Bedouins of the Soudan.'—M. Emile Montégut opens the second of this month's numbers with a brilliant essay on Heinrich Heine. Though numbered as a first instalment, the present contribution is complete in itself. After giving a sketch of Heine's youth, and pointing out the influence of the poet's Jewish descent, of his conversion—more formal than real—to Christianity, and also of his physical temperament, on his career and his works, the writer proceeds to a subtle examination of his Lyrics. Amongst many telling points the analysis of the passion of love as represented in the lyric poems is particularly striking; the mixture of irony and scepticism which characterizes it is brought out and illustrated with force and originality. If, as we may expect, the continuation is on a level with this first section, we shall have to thank M. Montégut for one of the ablest studies yet written of the poet's works.—Colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong, military attaché to the Chinese embassy in Paris, has undertaken to dispel some part of the ignorance and of the prejudices which, he says, exist in European

minds, on the score of his native country, by publishing a series of papers under the heading, 'China and the Chinese.' Family, religion and philosophy, marriage, divorce, and women, are the special subjects treated of in this first article.—In 'A Last Page of Roman History,' M. Victor Duruy travels over similar ground to that already travelled over by Bossuet and Montesquieu, his very just apology for so doing being that revolutions have taught us to interrogate Rome on questions which, two centuries ago, could not present themselves to those great minds.—In the next article M. Amagat considers M. Gambetta and the part which he played in politics, with special reference to the doctrine of opportunism. It may suffice to say that the writer has no sympathy with the man whose work he examines.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (June 1st and 15th).—The Duc de Broglie is still to the fore with his 'Diplomatic Studies;' this eighth instalment treats of the campaign in Flanders and of the invasion of Alsace.—The 'Salon' is exhaustively noticed by M. Henry Houssaye, who, on this occasion, speaks more favourably of the works sent to the palace of the Champs-Élysées than he has been able to do of late years.—In both this month's numbers Colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong continues his notes on 'China and the Chinese.'—Two recent works on Germany: *Les Allemands*, by Father Didon, and *Les Universités Allemandes*, by Doctor Blanchard, furnish M. Ernest Lavisse with materials for an excellent article on 'French and German Universities.' As regards French Universities, which are, as yet, but in *posse* he is of opinion that they would be an improvement on the existing Faculties. With respect to the German Universities, whilst admitting their excellence and their immense utility, he points out that there are shades to the bright picture which Father Didon gives of them. He lays special stress on the fact that much of what is most admirable about them is essentially national, and cannot be adopted by other countries with any chance of success, and that much, also, is the slow product of centuries, and cannot possibly be called into life by a vote of Parliament or a ministerial decree.—Only those who are blessed with good memories need turn to M. Blanchard's paper on 'New Zealand,' it being the fifth of a series of articles begun in 1878.—England is somewhat severely handled by M. Valbert in his article on her 'Colonial Power,' the moral of which seems to be that she ought to be more careful to practise what she preaches.—The mid-monthly opens with a charming article in which M. Henri Blaze de Bury traces the political career of Bianca Capello, the famous Venetian adventuress of the 16th century, who became grand duchess of Tuscany.—In an essay which economists may read with advantage, the theories of landed property advocated by Leroy, Beaulieu, de Laveleye, Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Paul Janet, Henry George, Schœffle, Charles Grad, and Léon Say, are analysed and criticised by M. Alfred Fouillée, whose own system of liberal economics is resumed in this simple formula: 'Individuals as free proprietors in a state which is itself a free proprietor.'—After a dramatic little story which M. Th. Bentzon entitles 'A Conversion,' and Colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong's 'China and the Chinese,' we have a scholarly study on 'Landscape in the Arts of Antiquity.' The writer, M. E. Michel, endeavours to show what position the somewhat exaggerated taste for natural beauty, which our epoch professes, held amongst the ancients, in what manner the representation of landscape scenery was understood by them, and the various phases through which it passed.—The 'Page from the Life of Hoehe,' which M. Albert Duruy contributes, is admirable as a literary production, but we cannot speak with praise of his endeavours to denigrate the memory of one of the noblest of the generals of the Republic.—M. Planchut, who closes the number with a paper on 'France and Madagascar,' writes in a spirit, which may be gathered from a single passage in which he likens British policy to the 'arrogant presumption of the Celestials, according to which all the kingdoms of the earth are the tributaries of China, as all oceans, all seas, all isthmuses, all archipelagos, must be, it seems, tributary to England.'

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1884).—This number marks the beginning of a new series of this *Revue*. For the last four years—that is, from its commencement—it has been edited by M. Maurice Vernes, but it has passed now into the hands of M. Jean Réville. We are glad to see from a note



to the reader, prefixed to this first number, that it is to be conducted along the same lines as before, and pursue the same policy,—be purely scientific, and in no sense apologetic or polemic. The only difference—if difference it may be called—which M. Réville contemplates introducing, is to open these pages more fully than before to contributions on what is known as 'Folk-Lore.' This will doubtless make the *Revue* more attractive to the ever widening circle of students who are finding this branch of enquiry so fascinating and fruitful. M. Woodville Rockhill opens with the first instalment of a translation from the Tibetan of the *Prātimoksha Sūtra*, or, as it is better known from the Pali and Chinese versions, translated frequently already by scholars, the *Pātimokkha Sūtra*. His translation is preceded by an interesting note on the history of this work, and on the differences between the various versions of it. Being the first translation of the Tibetan version into an European tongue, it cannot fail to interest all students of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. M. J. Pischari makes the well-known 'Ballad of Lenore' the subject of an elaborate study, basing his remarks on Herr M. W. Wollner's article in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 1882. He traces the existence of this ballad in the folk-lore of modern Greece, of the Servians, Slaves, Albanians, etc., points out the features of difference that characterize the different versions, and endeavours ingeniously to account for them.—M. L. Massebieau follows with a short paper on 'The Sacrifices ordered to be made at Carthage at the beginning of the Decian Persecution.' His object is to show the kind of sacrifices the Christians had to offer, and he selects Carthage because of the richer data on the subject furnished in the writings of Cyprian.—The other papers are an appreciative notice of two lately deceased leaders of thought in India, Dayananda Sarasvati and Keshub Chunder Sen, by M. Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, taken, we think, *verbatim* from his recent excellent work *L'Evolution religieuse contemporaine chez les Anglais, les Américains, et les Hindous*, (only where we write this the work is not at hand that we may compare them), and a paper on the place which serpents and dragons occupy in ancient faiths and traditions by M. Carnoy. These are followed by a short notice of some articles that appeared last year in *La Revue Slave* on the mythology of that race, a review of M. Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella's book mentioned above, and the usual chronicle and summary of transactions of Learned Societies and of articles in periodicals bearing on the history of Religions.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. II., 1884).—The first place is given here to a 'Study on Greek Mythology,' from the pen of Dr. Albert Réville, the Professor of the 'History of Religions' in the Collège de France. It is what he calls an 'analytical résumé' of Herr Otfried Müller's well-known, and, as the Germans say, epoch-making work, the *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*. It is not a translation of that work which he here gives us, and he tells us why he does not render it literally. Herr O. Müller's style, he says, is too prolix, is hardly ever lucid, though his thought always is (an exception to the general rule), and much which in 1825 was fresh and full of interest in his book, is now antiquated, and has been supplanted by fuller information and more accurate reflection. Dr. Réville's 'study,' however, is in substance Herr Müller's *Prolegomena* in a condensed and modernized form, and it is accompanied throughout with foot notes of a critical and supplementary character. It is, of course, only a portion of it that is given here, but the rest is to follow. M. W. Woodville Rockhill continues his translation of the 'Prātimoksha Sūtra,' from the Tibetan version, which was begun in the last number. M. Leon de Rosny, the eminent Chinese and Japanese scholar, in a learned and interesting paper titled 'The Great Solar Goddess Ama-Terason-Oho-Kami and the Origin of Shintauism,' or, as it is better known perhaps in this country, Shintōism, gives a short but very graphic account of the early Japanese traditions as to the genesis of things and the early beliefs there as to the gods. He is publishing a translation of the 'Yamata-Coumi' (the second part of which has just been, or is about to be, issued), a recension of the 'Fourou-Koto Coumi' the Bible, as it may perhaps be called, of the Japanese: and he gives here in this paper, a short account of the work and of the nature of its contents. It will be seen from these how the earliest records and traditions of Japan preserve memories of a primitive



monotheism, and M. De Rosny indicates here the causes of its later degeneration. M. A. Bouché-Leclercq continues his translation of the Sibylline Books from the last series, and reaches here the end of Book III. These, with the reviews of some modern works bearing on Religious criticism and history, such as Karl Budde's *Biblische Urgeschichte*; *La Bible Française au Moyen-Age*, of M. S. Berger; and M. le professeur D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique*; and the usual 'chronique' and summaries of proceedings of learned societies and periodicals complete the contents. The original papers in both numbers are almost all of exceptional interest and value, and promise well for the future of the Magazine under its new editorship.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Zweites Heft, 1884).—By some accident or other this number, published in January, did not reach us in time to be noticed in our last issue. It is taken up almost entirely with Lutheran subjects, with addresses delivered at the Tercentenary Festivals of November 10th of last year, and papers on Luther and his writings, and on Lutheran literature. The first essay is not directly connected with the November celebrations in Germany, for it is the second paper contributed by Herr Professor Hering of Halle, on the influences of the Reformation on the Charity and the Charitable Organizations of the Church in Germany, the first of which was noticed in the *Scottish Review* of September last. Indirectly, however, it has bearings on, or relation to, those celebrations, for it was in view of them that Prof. Hering sought to direct attention to this aspect of the Reformation. We are perfectly justified therefore in describing this number of the *Studien und Kritiken* as Lutheran throughout. Professor Hering's first paper dealt with the history of charity and its modes of manifesting itself in the Pre-Reformation Church in Germany, from the time of the first Crusades to the dawn of the Reformation. His present paper takes up the story there, and exhibits the effects of the reform movement on the charitable feelings and charitable institutions of the Churches affected by it. Taken in connection with Dr. Uhlhorn's work on 'Christian Charity in the Ancient Church,' to which it forms an excellent sequel, we are presented with a telling picture illustrative of the power of Christian teaching, or rather of Christianity, on the selfish and cruel passions of men, which it would be well for those who decry the Christian faith to study.—Following Herr Prof. Hering's paper are two speeches delivered at the festival of 10th November, 1883, in the united Universities of Halle and Wittemberg, by Professors Köstlin and Boretius; then a paper by Dr. Ed. Riehm, on 'Luther as a translator of the Bible,' which was read before the Evangelical Society (Verein) of the Province of Saxony, on October 22nd, and which is marked by Dr. Riehm's usual moderation and thoroughness, and one by Herr Prof. Hofstede de Groot, of Groningen, titled 'Luther in his study.' The reviews are all of recent works on Luther, by Herr Prof. Köstlin.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Drittes Heft), 1884.—The two principal articles in this number are by Herr Usteri, in continuation of his papers on the opinions of the Leaders of the Reformation concerning the Sacraments of the Church, especially the Sacrament of Baptism. In the first of these articles here he treats of Calvin's views on these subjects, quoting largely from his *Institutio* and other works, so that his statements as to Calvin's opinions may be verified at first hand. Herr Usteri carefully points out in what respects the Genevan Reformer's views differed from, and wherein they agreed with, those of his predecessors, and what influence these and the writings of Augustine seem to have had on the formation of his opinions. In his second paper here he discusses 'the position of the Strasburg Reformers, Bucer and Capito, to the question of baptism.' He enters with considerable minuteness into the history of the differences that arose between Capito and Bucer on the question of infant baptism, and Zwingli's efforts to restore harmony between these teachers. Here, too, he supports his analysis of their respective views by copious quotations from, and reference to, Bucer's and Capito's works. Herr Prof. Hermann Schultz, Professor of Apologetics at Göttingen, contributes a short essay, entitled, 'A Modern Apologetic Question in Ancient Form.' Its object is to show in what respects Origen's answer to the

arguments of Celsus against Christianity, based on the alleged impossibility of distinguishing between men and the lower animals, except in the degree in which they severally possessed reason, morality, and religion, holds good still as against those who, in the present day, regard man as nothing more than a more highly developed, but not generically distinct, animal.—Herr H. Franke, Privat-docent at Halle, follows with a short critical exegesis of 1st Corinthians, vi. 14—vii. 1. There is a very general consensus of opinion that this passage is an interpolation; and the only questions regarding it therefore are, whether it is Pauline or not, and if it is, or is not, whence it came. Herr Franke marshals a considerable number of arguments for its Pauline origin, and gives several very plausible—if not altogether convincing—reasons for holding it to be a page of that Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians mentioned in 1st Cor., v. 9.—The other articles are historical, one by Herr F. Koldewey of Holzminden, on 'The First Attempt to Justify the Bigamy of the Landgrave, Philipp of Hesse,' and the other by Herr Dr. Buchwald on 'Luther's Controversy with the Canons of Wittenberg.' Several reviews of books follow.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (May).—Both as regards the work which it reviews, and the manner in which it does it, Herr Hermann Scholz's article on Weiss's 'Life of Jesus,' fully deserves the place of honour which has been assigned to it. Not only is it a masterly analysis of an admirable work, but it contains original views which make it highly interesting reading even to those who are acquainted with the 'Leben Jesu.'—Dr. Wülcker's historical essay, 'Reichstag und Reichsregiment zu Anfang der Reformationzeit,' takes us back to Nürnberg, the real capital of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and recalls the debates and 'scenes' which at times enlivened the solemn imperial assembly during those eventful years. The letters between the elector Frederick the Wise, and his representative, Hans von der Planitz, have supplied the materials of this excellent and instructive article, in which, naturally, Luther frequently appears. It is interesting to note that amongst the many evils laid to Luther's charge, was included the failure of the mines of Annaberg and Schneeberg, which Duke George attributed to the influence of the miner's son over the miners who worked them.—'Württemberg under the Mittnacht-Hölder Ministry,' is not of engrossing interest, and will appear rather one-sided to those who may care sufficiently for minor German politics to undertake the perusal of it.—A wider circle is appealed to in the anonymous article, 'Leibnizens volkswirtschaftliche Ansichten und Denkschriften.' For these opinions of Leibniz on Political Economy, the writer has gone to hitherto unpublished documents. There is much in them that appears strange to us at the present time, much that seems to be the work of a mere 'amateur,' and can hardly be reconciled with the greatness of the philosopher. Nevertheless, here and there, there are thoughts which not only throw light upon the times which immediately followed him, but also seem to harmonize with some of our latest theories.—The number further contains—besides the usual political and bibliographical matter—a slight notice of 'Jetta,' by the author of 'Antinous' and 'Klytia,' the pseudonymous 'George Taylor.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (June).—Under the apparently innocent title 'Historische Methode,' Herr Hans Delbrück has drawn up a scathing indictment of Janssen's *History of the German People from the Beginning of the Middle Ages*. The character of Ulrich von Hutten is taken pretty well at random, the writer says, as illustrating Janssen's 'method.' It is certainly an interesting specimen of misrepresentation, of the twisting of facts for a special end, and of the adaptation of the words of a quotation to prove assertions in direct opposition to the spirit of the writer.—'Wieder einmal der Faust,' cries Herr Julian Schmidt, Faust yet once again! And in truth, after having read the article, we are inclined to repeat his exclamation. It is not so much a study of Faust as an examination of what Scherer has written about Faust, and seems the less necessary that the writer does not, in the main, differ from Scherer, and that the points on which he does, are of no great importance or interest.—'The Origin of the Bavarian War of Succession,' as Herr Reimann says, will prove of interest to those who are anxious to gather

new information with regard to the history of Prussia about the middle of last century. Perhaps, however, their name is not legion.—'Pigeon English' supplies Herr Gotthold Kreyenberg with a very amusing paper, in which, however, he seems to exaggerate the importance of what he calls a new 'Weltsprache.' Pigeon English a universal language! One of the good things of the article is a translation of Longfellow's 'Excelsior' into Pigeon English. As this Chinese gibberish may be new to some of our readers, we subjoin the opening stanza:—

'That nightey time begin chop-chop,  
One young man walkey, no can stop,  
Maskey snow, maskey ice,  
He cally flag with chop so nice:  
Top-side galow!'

—The few pages which Herr Delbrück has written in definition of the idea contained in the word 'vornehm' are chiefly interesting as showing the continental craving for 'official' rank.—The political and other letters which conclude the number are preceded by a lengthy and somewhat heavy article on the Prussian State Church.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April).—As regards quantity, light literature is well represented in this month's number. In point of quality it perhaps scarcely comes up to the average. 'Unter Uns,' the first instalment of a novel by Herr Ossip Schubin, promises fairly.—Herr Gustav zu Putlitz's 'der Nachlass der Grosstante'—a reminiscence of his childhood—is not of absorbing interest to mere outsiders.—Herr Hans Hoffmann's contribution: 'Meines Sohnes erste Schul-und Liebesstudien' is excellent, but it is a translation from the Italian of Salvatore Farina.—The more serious literature is headed by the reproduction of an address delivered at Rostock by Professor Dr. Victor Ehrenberg. It appears here with the title, 'Die Treue als Rechtspflicht.' In it we welcome a definition of that 'Deutsche Treue' of which German writers, and more particularly German orators, make such good use. This German loyalty, we are told, is that which looks upon it as the duty of a subject to be useful to his sovereign in counsel and deed, to the best of his knowledge and power, to follow him without invitation or command, without consideration for his own interests, yea, for his own life, without consideration for wife or child, for kindred or friends, and not to abandon him till death. We might accept this as a somewhat high-flown definition of loyalty, but we are scarcely prepared to admit that it is exclusively a German product; yet such is the writer's assertion.—Herr Otto Brahm contributes a passage from the work on 'Heinrich von Kleist,' lately crowned by the 'Allgemeinen Verein für Deutsche Literatur.' The extract contains a few biographical details concerning the poet's too short career,—he was born in 1777, and died by his own hand in 1811,—but it chiefly deals with a fragment which has been preserved of 'Robert Guiskard,' a drama which, in the opinion of Wieland, to whom parts of it were read, surpassed, in some respects, both Goethe and Schiller, and united in itself the spirit of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Shakespeare.—'A Journey to the East Indies,' of which we here have the first part, treating more particularly of Bombay, is of interest, not so much on account of the mere facts which it contains, as because it gives us, on many important points, the opinion of a foreigner well qualified to speak with authority, Professor Julius Jolly of Würzburg, who was appointed 'Tagore Professor of Law' for the year 1882-83.—Both for its matter and manner the paper on 'Emile Littré' is one of the best items in this month's table of contents. The story of the famous lexicographer and of his wonderful work is simply, but sympathetically told, and will be read with pleasure even by those already well acquainted with the details which it contains.—The signature of H. Brugsch, better known as Brugsch Bey, is sufficient guarantee that the paper on the 'Mahdi' is full of most important matter. The explanation of what is meant by a 'Religious War,' amongst Mahommedans, is of special interest, for, as the writer remarks, it has very generally been overlooked that in the whole Mahommedan world Religion, or rather Belief (ed-din) is merely the usual war-cry to summon the people to arms for a war which has, in reality, nothing to do with religion or belief. In the East, patriotism is such an unknown idea, that there is no term to express it; in its place belief has been substituted.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May).—‘Unter uns,’ Herr Ossip Schubin’s novel, is advanced a step. Herr Gustav zu Putlitz passes on from his childhood to his boyhood in ‘Die Pforte des Alumnats,’ and Salvatore Farina, translated by Hans Hoffman, again brings his quota under the title ‘Grossvater!’—‘Athena and Eleusis’ is the discourse pronounced by Professor Curtius on the anniversary of the Emperor of Germany’s birthday. We shall not attempt to give the connection between the subject chosen and the occasion, having failed to see it, in spite of a few words of far-fetched explanation. That, in itself, the article is excellent, is praise which it would almost be impertinence to give.—The first part of ‘Alessandro Manzoni,’ a paper bearing the signature of Herr von Sarburg, is a most interesting and well-digested summary of all the more important biographies of the Italian writer which have appeared since his death. The critical part is also excellent, notably where it treats of the world-famed ‘Promesi sposi’—the Christian Iliad, as it has been called.—Dr. Heinrich Jaques’s paper on ‘Compensation to Persons Condemned Innocently, in Germany and Austria,’ is rather technical for the ordinary English reader, but it derives special importance for jurists from the writer’s high position and from his intimate connection with the law which the Austrian Parliament has approved of on this subject.—In his ‘Studies on Goethe’ Herr Wilhelm Scherer endeavours to show, and indeed, in many instances, succeeds in showing how the proper understanding of ‘Faust’ largely depends on the knowledge of what Goethe did *not* write, how the harmony of the whole depends on the restoration of scenes comprised in the original plan, but omitted in the execution.—Professor Jolly’s ‘Journey to the East Indies,’ takes us through Guzerat and the Radschputana to Delhi, and by way of Lucknow to Benares. His papers may be recommended as models of what such *impressions de voyage* should be. Unlike a certain writer who, in a book that once fell into our hands, begins his description of an Indian town by saying that there is nothing remarkable about it, that it is a thoroughly *English* town, Professor Jolly shows how much of the old civilisation and of the old art still remains in India, in spite of British rule.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April 1st).—The opening paper is one on ‘Lorenzo Costa,’ by A. Neri, who says that collecting from correspondence some anecdotes related by personal friends of Costa, he is able to furnish a small part of the material which will some day go to form a memoir of the illustrious poet., whose works have been too much neglected.—Signor T. Roberti publishes a letter from Goldoni, written from Versailles in 1780, to the ‘Secretary of the Venetian Embassy.’—A paper on ‘Inquiry into Paternity,’ is contributed by Signor Mazzei.—Signor Guiseppe Mercalli writes on the ‘Earthquakes and Eruptions of the Island of Ischia.’ He first shows how that island was formed by the action of a subterranean volcano during the quaternary period of the globe. After a few eruptions, the mountain issued from the sea, in the shape of a little island, about 750 feet high, the low coasts of which were often destroyed by the waves. By degrees, and after the formation of subsidiary volcanoes, the island assumed its present form and size. The oldest eruptions within human memory are symbolized by the legend of Typhoeus. Pliny mentions a burnt city and newly-formed lake, probably the actual port of Ischia. The Syracusan colonists were driven away from the island by an eruption and earthquake, about 400 B.C. Doubtful notices mention three other eruptions before and during the time of Diocletian. Then came a pause of almost a thousand years, but a new period of violent activity commenced in 1228 A.D. and culminated in 1302. From the latter year up to 1762 there are no records of any violent earthquakes having taken place in Ischia, but from 1762 to the present day the houses of Casamicciola have been destroyed by about five earthquakes. The writer confirms the opinion that there were sufficient signs before the last earthquake to have warned the inhabitants. He then describes that earthquake and everything connected with it, blaming the bad construction of the houses, and advances proofs of his opinion that the Ischian earthquakes are of purely volcanic origin. The most practically important observation he makes is the following:—‘Before 1762, history never mentions an earthquake in Ischia without at the same time recording the ensuing eruption, with the sole exception of the earthquake of 1228, the first of a new period of activity, which

ended in the eruption of 1302. This leads one to suppose that the seismic period commenced in 1765, has been continued ever since with a frightful *crescendo*, and has not yet reached its climax.—Signor Bosio writes on the 'Condition of Medicine in Italy.'—Signor Grabunski continues his papers on 'Religious and Italian Interests in Palestine and Syria.'—Salvatore Farini, the sympathetic Italian author, whose works, without the least imitation, remind one of Dickens and Bret Harte, commences a 'simple story,' entitled, 'Corporal Silvestro.'—Signor C. F. Gabba furnishes a lawyer's article on 'Women with Advocates.'—Signor Foperti writes a political article on 'Quintino Sella and Guiseppe Massari.'—Signor Cantu briefly describes the first named politician as a literary man and historian.—(April 16th).—In this number we have first a paper on 'Literary Criticism,' by Signor Zanella.—Signor Carlo Vassilio writes an exhaustive paper on the 'Life and Writings of Charles Witte,' accompanied by numerous notes and quotations from original letters.—N. Martelli contributes an antiquarian article on the 'Good Men' of San Martino, who still exist, under the title of the 'Congregation of San Martino, in Florence.'—Signor Castagna writes the story of the 'Republic of Senarica,' and 'Corporal Silvestro' is continued.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1st).—This number commences with an interesting article on the 'Youth of Cavour,' by Signor Gotti, founded on edited and unedited letters collected by Signor Chiala.—Signor Fea contributes an article on Alexander Farnese.—A paper by Signor Gariazzo describes a charitable institute in Turin, which owes its existence principally to Signor Cocchi, the founder of homes for poor children.—Signor Stelvio gives a 'succinct story' of the modern German Empire. The writer concludes by saying that modern German preponderance might easily acquire, under other forms and with different interests, the form of the ancient Roman-German domination in the Middle Ages. It ought not to be forgotten that the countries of old Europe are divided into three chief races, the Latin, the German and the Slave. If European civilization is to be maintained, as social peace and civilization demand, the preponderance of one of the three elements cannot be long tolerated.—A paper on 'Alexander Dumas and the Modern Romance' is furnished by A. G. Barrili.—The story of 'Corporal Silvestro' is closed, but needs a larger notice than space here affords.—F. Cucchi-Boasso writes a statistical article on the 'Working Classes of Milan and Neighbourhood.'—It is followed by a short country story, entitled, 'Teresa,' by Signora Giarre-Billi.—The number closes with a paper on the 'Turin Exhibition,' and the usual bulletins.—(May 16th).—We have, in the present number, a careful study by A. Biasiutti, of the 'Future of Africa,' as indicated in existing and sociological reports. The writer attempts to prove that the efforts hitherto made to civilize Africa have rather resulted in harm than good, the methods used having been mistaken. This is the reason why results are scanty, leading to the false conclusion that the African population is absolutely incapable of any civil progress. It is necessary first of all to make war to the knife against slavery, which renders civil, moral, and social regeneration impossible, and it is a shame to our much-vaunted times that this important argument has been so ignored and neglected. There is no doubt that better times are in store for the Africans, and perhaps their virgin element will renew our present exhausted civilization. Though we may not live to witness it, our descendants will no doubt see an entire change in African conditions; they will see the gigantic rivers covered with steamboats, the electric wire uniting distant regions, the land cultivated, the forests cleared, the swamps drained and the mountains yielding their mineral treasure, and where are now miserable villages, cities full of busy life.—A graceful little scene of jealousy, entitled 'The First Cloud,' which ends in sunshine, is contributed by Signor Alberti.—V. Brandi sends a paper, entitled 'A Queen-Authoress,' the subject being Queen Victoria's journals. The writer remarks on the dedication of 'More Leaves from the Journal of Life in the Highlands,' being an entirely novel thing and a great uprooting of old forms of etiquette. Many passages are quoted from the diaries, and the article ends by calling them essentially womanly, possessing a high value because they are a splendid proof that sovereigns are no longer the scourge of subjects, such as



they have often been represented, and that it is possible to be a model queen, and at the same time a model wife, mother and citizen. If other living sovereigns would follow the example of the Queen of England, they would render a great service to history and the principle of sovereignty.—Signor Manassei sends a long article on 'Agricultural Credit.'—A. de Johannis has some considerations 'On Italian Railways;' and an ex-diplomatist discusses the question of the *Propaganda Fide* and the Italian government.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (June 1st).—This number opens with the first part of a long article on 'Italy with Reference to the St. Gothard Tunnel.' The remaining articles are not of much interest.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1st).—The opening paper of the present number by E. Nencione, is an interesting criticism of 'Aurora Leigh.' The writer first analysis the poem, relates its story, and translates the most characteristic verses. He then makes several observations, comparing the work with the almost contemporaneous poem of 'Maud,' in which, he says, the personages pass like shadows, serving only as pretexts for the splendid lyrics inserted in the poem, while, in 'Aurora Leigh' we have portraits painted from life.—Signor Lampeitico has a paper on 'Transformation and Sociology according to the most recent Studies,' contending that though the transformation of human society is unceasing, the essential form, which is the root of all exterior forms and gives being to creatures and informs and vivifies social life, remains unchangeable.—Signor Marasca contributes a learned paper on the worship of the pastoral goddess, Pales, among the aboriginal inhabitants of Latium, and the origin of the natal festival of Rome.—Signor Nobile-Vitelleschi give an account of agriculture in the United States, founded on Rossi's book on 'American Competition.'—Signora Pigorini-Beri furnishes another of her lively descriptions of 'Rustic Life and Customs.'—Signor Brunialti contributes a 'General Glance at the Turin Exhibition.'—A paper on the 'Pretended Autograph Papers of Giacomo Leopardi,' disputes the authenticity of certain MS. discovered in Naples and said to have been written by Leopardi.—In his 'Review of Foreign Literature,' Signor de Gubernatis devotes many pages to a criticism of Edward Schuré's *Legende de l'Alsace*.—(May 15th).—This number opens with a careful study of the various memoirs of Heinrich Heine. The writer sums up his opinion of them in the words: 'The Memoirs show us, as I hope I have proved, a Heine of whom it is impossible to say, without great injustice, that he had no heart.'—'Turning over Byron's lyrics, a little time ago, I chanced upon the "Lines to a Lady Weeping;" with these words Signor Saredo begins a paper on 'Princess Charlotte of England,' relating the story of that unhappy lady, who, he says, was well worthy of such a poet's song.—Orazio Manicchi writes on 'Rome at the Turin Exhibition,' expressing a wish that the comparison of Italian culture to be made at Turin will increase emulation in useful works and earnest study, the only rivalry that ought to exist between the sister cities. The fiction of this number is represented by a clever story founded on an advertisement for a governess, and wholly carried on in letters and telegrams, with a tragic close.—Some letters from Count di Brazza Savorgnan, dated 1883, give an account of that explorer's journey in Gabon.—There follows a short memoir of the late Italian poet, G. Prati.—*The Bibliographical Review* gives a summary of 'Land and its Rent,' by F. A. Walker.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1st), opens with an article by O. Barattieri, giving a detailed account of 'Garibaldi's Victory at Calatafimi.' The paper ends by proposing to erect a monument, on the heights of Pianto del Romani, on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the battle.—Signor G. Boglietti writes a paper entitled 'A New Biographer of Bismarck,' in which, after remarking that all the anger directed against Moritz Busch is only the result of the offended vanity of those whom Bismarck has often roughly criticised, he goes on to give a brief account of the great Chancellor's political acts since 1851.—The 'Acquisition of the Ashburnham Italian Codices' is the theme of a paper by G. Chiarini, who greets the event as a sign of renewed interest in science and art.—A story is commenced entitled 'The Last of the Calderos,' by V. Bersezio.—Signor Bonghi writes on the 'Decadence of Parliamentary Regime.'—The review of foreign books, notices French books exclusively.—*The*



*Political Review*, speaking of the dynamite outrages in London, says that England will not hesitate to suppress some part of public liberty as soon as she finds that there is no other means of repressing such outrages. It is a marvel that Gladstone's cabinet can resist such terrible and repeated blows.—(June 15th).—In this number we have a paper entitled 'A New Author,' by Paul Livy, in which he compares, much to the advantage of the author, a book which has been well received in Italy with the works of Zola and Goncourt. The book is *La Paura*, by Angelo Mosso, and Signor Livy says that the writer is already a great physiologist and will be a great author.—Signor Nencione has a long and careful criticism of Vernon Lee's 'Euphorion.'—Signor Bindi contributes an article on 'Landscape Painters at Naples,' beginning with Salvator Rosa, and going on to Hackert and Pitloo, Carelli and many other worthy modern painters.—Signor Bonghi takes three modern books on religion, namely, *Natural Religion*; *Le Religioni e la Religione*, by G. Trezza; and *Il Dogma e le Scienze*, by Antonio Stoppani, as the theme of an interesting article on 'Believers and Unbelievers.'—An 'Ex-Diplomatist' writes an important article on the 'Morocco Question,' urging Italy, should France invade Morocco, to take up a strong position in Africa by occupying Tripoli.

DE GIDS (June).—Opens with an account of the Edinburgh University Tercentenary festival, by Prof. van Hamel. He was greatly impressed by the service in St. Giles, in its every feature: and greatly pleased with the kindness of the Edinburgh people. He has great sympathy with the spirit and aims of the Scottish Universities, but remarked with surprise the want of organisation among the students, and the absence at the most important meetings of any official representative of their body. In Holland, as well as in Scotland, the question of the teaching of theology in the national universities is a subject of discussion. The last university legislation, in 1877, kept the theological faculties in their places: but this was done in the face of strong objections; and the question appears likely to be re-opened at no distant day. In this *Gids* A. Bruining has a long paper defending the right of theology to a place in the higher national education. It is scarcely theology however, in one sense, whose claims he pleads. What is taught about religion in national institutions, must, he holds, be strictly scientific; the subject of university instruction must be the science of religion, in its historical and psychological aspects, and not any system of divinity. Most of his paper is devoted to a discussion of the claims of various schools of thought in religion to be considered scientific; and he excludes from this category not only all systems founded on supernaturalism, but also systems based on mysticism or the assumption of a specific innate religious faculty, such as that of Schleiermacher. The conclusion is that no Roman Catholic or Calvinist, nor any representative of a system based on authority, could be appointed to a university chair, but only those who take up the scientific point of view, and treat religion as a branch of natural knowledge. In Scotland we should hear this called the disestablishment of faith and the State support of infidelity. Yet this is what we shall probably have to come to if the universities are to continue to have a faculty of theology. 'A Heroic Life' is the title of a series of articles in the *Gids*, in which Charles Boissevain gives an account of the life and adventures of our remarkable countryman, General Gordon.

DE GIDS (July).—Opens with some pages, full of feeling, on the death of the Prince of Orange. 'The last Prince of Orange dies in early manhood, a stranger among his people, leaving rather a legend of his existence—a curious admixture of truth and fiction—than a biography known to the people. And yet how much was there in his life that was worthy to be known! If a pure and blameless conversation, if chivalrous fidelity to his ideals of right and goodness, and to those in whom these ideals seemed to him to be represented, if deep contempt for the mere pleasures, and lofty aspiration to the duties, of kingship, and a fervent desire to dedicate all his powers to the fulfilment of these duties, if there be regal virtues, this prince possessed them in large measure.' The writer goes on to doubt whether the shrinking disposition of the prince would ever have suffered him to do justice to himself, and whether the cloister life he led had

not unfitted him for the duties of a throne. He concludes with saying that those who knew the prince best, also loved him and admired him most. There is in this number a review of Max Roose's French book on Christophe Plantin, the printer of Antwerp, whose house now belongs to the city, and contains a collection of early editions of the Plantin press. There is also a lengthy paper on the negotiations with a view to the partition of the Spanish monarchy in 1698-1700; which is to be continued.

VRAGEN DES TIJDS (May).—Has a paper, interesting to the foreigner, on the defence of Holland, which opens with the assertion that the country is unprepared to defend itself, as in time of peace it always has been. Occurrences in the Transvaal are held to prove that it is not impossible for a small nation to defend itself against a great power, and the writer, taking the case of a possible attack on Holland, both by sea and land, by a great power bent on absorbing it, goes on to discuss the proper citadel to be adopted, which he holds, surely with justice, to be the province of Holland itself, the necessary measures of peace establishments, militia, etc., to keep the country ready for emergencies. The means of flooding various districts of the country is the last point considered.

In the THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT for May there are two elaborate papers, in which the same historical method is applied to an Old Testament and a New Testament subject. The writers are both men of eminence. Dr. Oort, of the 'Bible for Young People,' writes on the sons of Aaron; and Dr. Hoekstra on the relation between John the Baptist and Christianity. Aaron, Dr. Oort maintains, was the reputed ancestor of the clergy, including priests and prophets, of North Israel, or more particularly of the house of Joseph; and of them alone, not of the clergy of Judah before the captivity. The narratives of the relations between Aaron and Moses are to be interpreted as setting forth the relations between the clergy of the North Kingdom and those of Judah, of which Dr. Oort gives a highly interesting sketch. They are written of course from the Jerusalem point of view: Aaron, or the North clergy, encouraged Israel to worship Jehovah, under the figure of a bull; but Josiah counted a number of them among his sympathisers in executing his reforms; and admitted them, as second Kings and Deuteronomy tell us, on certain conditions to the ranks of the clergy of the south. The descendants of Eli came to Jerusalem to beg a priest's office, that they might eat a piece of bread (1 Sam. ii. 36). In this part of the paper there are very acute remarks on the history of Bethel, the principal northern sanctuary. At a later stage of the legend Moses represents the law, the characteristic product of Judah, and Aaron prophecy—he is the mouth of Moses, and sees dreams and visions, while Moses is at all times faithful and clear. The second of the above-named papers begins with an attempt, in view of recent revolutionary Dutch theories, to prove from Josephus that the Christ of the Gospels is a historical person, and the real source of Christianity. Dr. Hoekstra rejects as interpolations all the direct references to Jesus now to be found in Josephus; and works in an indirect method, to show first that what Josephus tells us about John the Baptist must be supplemented from the Gospels in order to be at all intelligible, and then that if the Gospels are good for that purpose the facts they contain about Jesus cannot be summarily dismissed, as Dr. Loman proposes. His paper then widens out to a discussion of the relations between John the Baptist and Jesus. The movement of John was perhaps at first the more considerable of the two, and what is told of the relations between John and Jesus shews the relations subsisting at different times between the community of John and that of Jesus. The various stages by which the latter gradually overshadowed and at last nearly absorbed the former, are set forth in the varying degree in which John is subordinated to Jesus. At first the head of a separate movement, he is gradually brought into contact with the latter, and at last becomes merely his forerunner. But the movements were at first quite different in spirit and tendency. John's was Pharisaic, ceremonial, particularist, ascetic; that of Jesus was liberal, Galilean, universalist, and inwardly repugnant to Phariseism; whence Josephus could not like it nor speak of it. As the notion of the person of Christ grows more exalted, John partakes in the exaltation, but always in a subordinate degree.